THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1808.

No. XXII.

ART. I. *Traité de Méchanique Céleste.* Par P. S. LA PLACE, Membre de l'Institut National de France, et du Bureau des Longitudes. Paris. Vol. 1. An 7. Vol. 3. & 4. 1805.

ASTRONOMY is distinguished by several great and striking characters, which place it decidedly at the head of the physical sciences. The objects which it treats of, cannot fail to impart to it a degree of their own magnificence and splendour; while their distance, their magnitude, the steadiness and regularity of their movements, deeply impress the imagination, and afford a noble exercise to the understanding. Add to this, that the history of astronomy is that which is best marked out in the progress of human knowledge. Through the darkness of the early ages, we perceive the truths of this science shining as it were by their own light, and scattering some rays around them, that serve to discover a few definite objects amid the confusion of antient tradition,—a few fixed points amid the uncertainty of Greek, Egyptian, or even Hindoo mythology. But what distinguishes astronomy the most, is the perfect explanation which it gives of the celestial phenomena. This explanation is so complete, that there is not any fact concerning the motions of the heavenly bodies, from the greatest to the least, which is not reducible to one single law—the mutual gravitation of all bodies to one another, with forces that are directly as the masses of the bodies, and inversely as the squares of their distances. On this principle Sir Isaac Newton long ago accounted for all the great motions in our system; and, on the same principle, his successors, after near a century of the most ingenious and elaborate investigation, have explained all the rest. The work before us brings those explanations into one view, and deduces them from the first principles of me-

chanics. It is not willingly that we have suffered so much time to elapse without laying before our readers an analysis of a work the most important, without doubt, that has distinguished the conclusion of the last or the commencement of the present century. But the book is still, in some respects, incomplete; and a historical volume is yet wanting, which, had we been in possession of it, would have very much facilitated the task that we have now undertaken to perform. We know not whether this volume is actually published. In the present state of Europe it may be a long time before it can find its way to this country; and, in the mean time, our duty seems to require, that an account of the four volumes, which we possess, should no longer be withheld from the public.

Though the integral calculus, as it was left by the first inventors and their contemporaries, was a very powerful instrument of investigation, it required many improvements to fit it for extending the philosophy of Newton to its utmost limits. A brief enumeration of the principal improvements which it has actually received in the last seventy or eighty years, will very much assist us in appreciating the merit of the work which is now before us.

1. Descartes is celebrated for having applied algebra to geometry; and Euler hardly deserves less credit for having applied the same science to trigonometry. Though we ascribe the invention of this calculus to Euler, we are aware that the first attempt toward it was made by a mathematician of far inferior note, Christian Mayer, who, in the Petersburgh Commentaries for 1727, published a paper on analytical trigonometry. In that memoir, the geometrical theorems, which serve as the basis of this new species of arithmetic, are pointed out; but the extension of the method, the introduction of a convenient notation, and of a peculiar algorithm, are the work of Euler. By means of these, the sines and cosines of arches are multiplied into one another, and raised to any power, with a simplicity unknown in any other part of algebra, being expressed by the sines and cosines of multiple arches of one dimension only, or of no higher power than the first. It is incredible of how great advantage this method has proved in all the parts of the higher geometry, but more especially in the researches of physical astronomy. As what we observe in the heavens is nothing but angular position, so if we would compare the result of our reasonings concerning the action of the heavenly bodies, with observations made on the surface of the earth, we must express those results in terms of the angles observed, or the quantities dependent on them, such as sines, tangents, &c. It is evident that a calculus which teaches how this is to be accomplished, must be of the greatest value to the as-

tronomer. Besides, the facility which this calculus gives to all the reasonings and computations into which it is introduced, from the elementary problems of geometry to the finding of fluents and the summing of series, makes it one of the most valuable resources in mathematical science. It is a method continually employed in the *Méchanique Céleste.*

2. An improvement in the integral calculus, made by M. D'Alembert, has doubled its power, and added to it a territory not inferior in extent to all that it before possessed. This is the method of *partial differences*, or, as we must call it, of *partial fluxions.* It was discovered by the geometer just named, when he was inquiring into the nature of the figures successively assumed by a musical string during the time of its vibrations. When a variable quantity is a function of other two variable quantities, as the ordinates belonging to the different abscissæ in these curves must necessarily be, (for they are functions both of the abscissæ and of the time counted from the beginning of the vibrations), it becomes convenient to consider how that quantity varies, while each of the other two varies singly, the remaining one being supposed constant. Without this simplification, it would, in most cases, be quite impossible to subject such complicated functions to any rules of reasoning whatsoever. The calculus of partial differences, therefore, is of great utility in all the more complicated problems both of pure and mixt mathematics: every thing relating to the motion of fluids that is not purely elementary, falls within its range; and in all the more difficult researches of physical astronomy, it has been introduced with great advantage. The first idea of this new method, and the first application of it, are due to D'Alembert: it is from Euler, however, that we derive the form and notation that have been generally adopted.

3. Another great addition made to the integral calculus, is the invention of La Grange, and is known by the name of the *Calculus variationum.* The ordinary problems of determining the greatest and least states of a given function of one or more variable quantities, is easily reduced to the direct method of fluxions, or the differential calculus, and was indeed one of the first classes of questions to which those methods were applied. But when the function that is to be a *maximum* or a *mininum*, is not given in its form; or when the curve, expressing that function, is not known by any other property, but that, in certain circumstances, it is to be the greatest or least possible, the solution is infinitely more difficult, and science seems to have no hold of the question by which to reduce it to a mathematical investigation. The pro-

blem of the line of swiftest descent is of this nature; and though from some facilities which this and other particular instances afforded, they were resolved, by the ingenuity of mathematicians, before any method generally applicable to them was known, yet such a method could not but be regarded as a great *desideratum* in mathematical science. The genius of Euler had gone far to supply it, when La Grange, taking a view entirely different, fell upon a method extremely convenient, and, considering the difficulty of the problem, the most simple that could be expected. The supposition it proceeds on is greatly more general than that of the fluxionary or differential calculus. In this last, the fluxions or changes of the variable quantities are restricted by certain laws. The fluxion of the ordinate, for example, has a relation to the fluxion of the abscissa that is determined by the nature of the curve to which they both belong. But in the method of *variations*, the change of the ordinate may be any whatever; it may no longer be bounded by the original curve, but it may pass into another, having to the former no determinate relation. This is the calculus of La Grange; and, though it was invented expressly with a view to the problems just mentioned, it has been found of great use in many physical questions with which those problems are not immediately connected.

4. Among the improvements of the higher geometry, besides those which, like the preceding, consisted of methods entirely new, the extension of the more ordinary methods to the integration of a vast number of formulas, the investigation of many new theorems concerning quadratures, and concerning the solution of fluxionary equations of all orders, had completely changed the appearance of the calculus; so that Newton or Leibnitz, had they returned to the world any time since the middle of the last century, would have been unable, without great study, to follow the discoveries which their disciples had made, by proceeding in the line which they themselves had pointed out. In this work, though a great number of ingenious men have been concerned, yet more is due to Euler than to any other individual. With indefatigable industry, and the resources of a most inventive mind, he devoted a long life entirely to the pursuits of science. Besides producing many works on all the different branches of the higher mathematics, he continued, for more than fifty years during his life, and for no less than twenty after his death, to enrich the memoirs of Berlin, or of Petersburgh, with papers that bear, in every page, the marks of originality and invention. Such, indeed, has been the industry of this incomparable man, that his works, were they collected into one, notwithstanding that they are full of novelty, and are

written in the most concise language by which human thought can be expressed, might vie in magnitude with the most trite and verbose compilations.

5. The additions we have enumerated were made to the pure mathematics; that which we are going to mention belongs to the mixt. It is the mechanical principle, discovered by D'Alembert, which reduces every question concerning the *motion* of bodies, to a case of equilibrium. It consists in this—If the motions, which the particles of a moving body, or a system of moving bodies, have at any instant, be resolved each into two, one of which is the motion which the particle had in the preceding instant, then the sum of all these third motions must be such, that they are in equilibrium with one another. Though this principle is, in fact, nothing else than the equality of action and reaction, properly explained, and traced into the secret process which takes place on the communication of motion, it has operated on science like one entirely new, and deserves to be considered as an important discovery. The consequence of it has been, that as the theory of equilibrium is perfectly understood, all problems whatever, concerning the motion of bodies, can be so far subjected to mathematical computation, that they can be expressed in fluxionary or differential equations, and the solution of them reduced to the integration of those equations. The full value of the proposition, however, was not understood, till La Grange published his *Méchanique Analytique:* the principle is there reduced to still greater simplicity; and the connexion between the pure and the mixt mathematics, in this quarter, may be considered as complete.

Furnished with a part, or with the whole of these resources, according to the period at which they arose, the mathematicians who followed Newton in the career of physical astronomy, were enabled to add much to his discoveries, and at last to complete the work which he so happily began. Out of the number who embarked in this undertaking, and to whom science has many great obligations, five may be regarded as the leaders, and as distinguished above the rest, by the greatness of their achievements. These are, Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, La Grange, and La Place himself, the author of the work now under consideration. By their efforts it was found, that, at the close of the last century, there did not remain a single phenomenon in the celestial motions, that was not explained on the principle of Gravitation; nor any greater difference between the conclusions of theory, and the observations of astronomy, than the errors unavoidable in the latter were sufficient to account for. The time seemed now to be come for reducing the whole theory of astronomy into one work, that should

embrace the entire compass of that science and its discoveries for the last hundred years: La Place was the man in all Europe, whom the voice of the scientific world would have selected for so great an undertaking.

The nature of the work required that it should contain an entire System of Physical Astronomy, from the first elements to the most remote conclusions of the science. The author has been careful to preserve the same method of investigation throughout; so that even where he has to deduce results already known, there is a unity of character and method that presents them under a new aspect.

The reasoning employed is every where algebraical; and the various parts of the higher mathematics, the integral calculus, the method of partial differences and of variations, are from the first outset introduced, whenever they can enable the author to abbreviate or to generalize his investigations. No diagrams or geometrical figures are employed; and the reader must converse with the objects presented to him by the language of arbitrary symbols alone. Whether the rejection of figures be in all respects an improvement, and whether it may not be in some degree hurtful to the powers of the imagination, we will not take upon us to decide. It is certain, however, that the perfection of Algebra tends to the banishment of diagrams, and of all reference to them. La Grange, in his treatise of *Analytical Mechanics*, has no reference to figures, notwithstanding the great number of mechanical problems which he resolves. The resolution of all the forces that act on any point, into three forces, in the direction of three axes at right angles to one another, enables one to express their relations very distinctly, without representing them by a figure, or expressing them by any other than algebraic symbols. This method is accordingly followed in the *Méchanique Céleste*. Something of the same kind, indeed, seems applicable to almost any part of the mathematics; and a very distinct treatise on the conic sections, we doubt not, might be written, where there would not be a single diagram introduced, and where all the properties of the ellipse, the parabola, and the hyperbola would be expressed either by words or by algebraic characters. Whether the imagination would lose or gain by this exercise, we shall not at present stop to inquire. It is curious, however, to observe, that Algebra, which was first introduced for the mere purpose of assisting geometry, and supplying its defects, has ended, as many auxiliaries have done, with discarding that science (or at least its peculiar methods) almost entirely. We say, almost entirely; because there are, doubtless, a great number of the elementary

propositions of geometry, that never can have any but a geometrical, and some of them a synthetical demonstration.

The work of La Place is divided into two parts, and each of these into five books. The first part lays down the general principles applicable to the whole inquiry, and afterwards deduces from them the motions of the primary planets, as produced by their gravitation to the sun. The second part treats, first of the disturbances of the primary planets, and next of those of the secondary.

In the first book, the theory of motion is explained in a manner very unlike what we meet with in ordinary treatises—with extreme generality, and with the assistance of the more difficult parts of the mathematics,—but in a way extremely luminous, concise, and readily applicable to the most extensive and arduous researches. This part must be highly gratifying to those who have a pleasure in contemplating the different ways in which the same truths may be established, and in pursuing whatever tends to simplicity and generalization. The greater part of the propositions here deduced are already known; but it is good to have them presented in a new order, and investigated by the same methods that are pursued through the whole of this work, from the most elementary truths to the most remote conclusions.

For the purpose of instructing one in what may be called the Philosophy of Mechanics, that is, in the leading truths in the science of motion, and at the same time, in the way by which those truths are applied to particular investigations, we do not believe any work is better adapted than the first book of the *Méchanique Céleste*, provided it had a little more expansion given it in particular places, and a little more illustration employed for the sake of those who are not perfectly skilled in the use of the instrument which La Place himself employs with so much dexterity and ease.

From the differential equations that express the motion of any number of bodies subjected to the mutual attraction of one another, deduced in the second chapter, La Place proceeds to the integration of these equations by approximation, in the third and the following chapters. The first step in this process gives the integral complete in the case of two bodies, and shows that the curve described by each of them is a conic section. The whole theory of the elliptic motion follows, in which the solution of Kepler's problem, or the expression of the true anomaly, and of the *radius vector* of a planet, in terms of the mean anomaly, or of the time, are particularly deserving of attention, as well as the difference between the motion in a parabolic orbit, and in an elliptic orbit of great eccentricity.

XUM

In the greater part of this investigation, the theorems are such as have been long since deduced by more ordinary methods: the deduction of them here was however essential, in order to preserve the unity of the work, and to show that the simpler truths, as well as the more difficult, make parts of the same system, and emanate from the same principle. These more elementary investigations have this further advantage, that the knowledge of the calculus, and of the methods peculiar to this work, is thus gradually acquired, by beginning from the more simple cases; and we are prepared, by that means, for the more difficult problems that are to follow.

The general methods of integrating the differential equations above mentioned, are laid down in the Fifth Chapter, which deserves to be studied with particular attention, whether we would improve in the knowledge of the pure or the mixt mathematics. The calculus of variations is introduced with great effect in the last article of this chapter.

A very curious subject of investigation, and one that we believe to be altogether new, follows in the next chapter. In the general movement of a system of bodies, such as is here supposed, and such, too, as is actually exemplified in nature, every thing is in motion; not only every body, but the plane of every orbit. The mutual action of the planets changes the positions of the planes in which they revolve; and they are perpetually made to depart, by a small quantity, on one side or another, each from that plane in which it would go on continually, if their mutual action were to cease. The calculus makes it appear, that the inclinations of these orbits in the planetary system is stable, or that the planes of the orbits oscillate a little, backwards and forwards, on each side of a fixt and immoveable plane. This plane is shown to be one, on which, if every one of the bodies of the system be projected by a perpendicular let fall from it, and if the mass of each body be multiplied into the area described in a given time by its projection on the said plane, the sum of all these products shall be a *maximum*. From this condition, the method of determining the immoveable plane is deduced; and in the progress of science, when observations made at a great distance of time shall be compared together, the reference of them to an immoveable plane must become a matter of great importance to astronomers.

As the great problem resolved in this first book is that which is called the problem of the *Three Bodies*, it may be proper to give some account of the steps by which mathematicians have been gradually conducted to a solution of it so perfect as that which is given by La Place. The problem is,—Having given the

masses of three bodies projected from three points given in position with velocities given in their quantity and direction, and supposing the bodies to gravitate to one another with forces that are as their masses directly and the squares of their distances inversely, to find the lines described by these bodies, and their position, at any given instant.

The problem may be rendered still more general, by supposing the number of bodies to be greater than three.

To resolve the problem in the general form contained in either of these enunciations, very far exceeds the powers even of the most improved analysis. In the cases, however, where it applies to the heavens, that is, when one of the bodies is very great and powerful in respect of the other two, a solution by approximation, and having any required degree of accuracy, may be obtained.

When the number of bodies is only two, the problem admits of a complete solution. Newton had accordingly resolved the problem of two bodies gravitating to one another, in the most perfect manner; and had shown, that when their mutual gravitation is as their masses divided by the squares of their distances, the orbits they describe are conic sections. The application of this theorem and its corollaries to the motions of the planets round the sun, furnished the most beautiful explanation of natural phenomena that had yet been exhibited to the world; and however excellent, or in some respects superior, the analytical methods may be that have since been applied to this problem, we hope that the original demonstrations will never be overlooked. When Newton, however, endeavoured to apply the same methods to the case of a planet disturbed in its motion round its primary by the action of a third body, the difficulties were too great to be completely overcome. The efforts, nevertheless, which he made with instruments that, though powerful, were still inadequate to the work in which they were employed, displayed, in a striking manner, the resources of his genius, and conducted him to many valuable discoveries. Five of the most considerable of the inequalities in the moon's motion were explained in a satisfactory manner, and referred to the sun's action; but beyond this, though there is some reason to think that Newton attempted to proceed, he has not made us acquainted with the route which he pursued. It was evident, however, that beside these five inequalities, there were many more, of less magnitude indeed, but of an amount that was often considerable, though the laws which they were subject to were unknown, and were never likely to be discovered by observation alone.

XUM

It is the glory of the Newtonian philosophy, not to have been limited to the precise point of perfection to which it was carried by its author; nor, like all the systems which the world had yet seen, from the age of Aristotle to that of Descartes, either to continue stationary, or to decline gradually from the moment of its publication. Three geometers, who had studied in the schools of Newton and of Leibnitz, and had greatly improved the methods of their masters, ventured, nearly about the same time, each unknown to the other two, to propose to himself the problem which has since been so well known under the name of the Problem of Three Bodies. Clairaut, D'Alembert and Euler, are the three illustrious men, who, as by a common impulse, undertook this investigation in the year 1747; the priority, if any could be claimed, being on the side of Clairaut. The object of those geometers was not merely to explain the lunar inequalities that had been observed; they aimed at something higher; viz. from theory to investigate all the inequalities that could arise as the effects of gravitation, and so to give an accuracy to the tables of the moon, that they could not derive from observation alone. Thus, after having ascended with Newton from phenomena to the principle of gravitation, they were to descend from that principle to the discovery of new facts; and thus, by the twofold method of analysis and composition, to apply to their theory the severest test, the only infallible criterion that at all times distinguishes truth from falsehood. Clairaut was the first who deduced, from his solution of the problem, a complete set of lunar tables, of an accuracy far superior to any thing that had yet appeared, and which, when compared with observation, gave the moon's place, in all situations, very near the truth.

Their accuracy, however, was exceeded, or at least supposed to be exceeded, by another set produced by Tobias Mayer of Gottingen, and grounded on Euler's solution, compared very diligently with observation. The expression of the lunar irregularities, as deduced from theory, is represented by the terms of a series, in each of which there are two parts carefully to be distinguished; one, which is the sine or cosine of a variable angle determined at every instant by the time counted from a certain epocha; another, which is a coefficient or multiplier, in itself constant, and remaining always the same. The determination of this constant part may be derived from two different sources; either from our knowledge of the masses of the sun and moon, and their mean distances from the earth; or from a comparison of the series above mentioned, with the observed places of the moon, whence the values of the coefficients are

found, which makes the series agree most accurately with observation. Mayer, who was himself a very skilful astronomer, had been very careful in making these comparisons; and thence arose the greater accuracy of his tables. The problem of finding the longitude at sea, which was now understood to depend so much on the exactness with which the moon's place could be computed, gave vast additional value to these researches, and established a very close connexion between the conclusions of theory, and one of the most important of the arts. Mayer's tables were rewarded by the Board of Longitude in England; and Euler's, at the suggestion of Turgot, by the Board of Longitude in France.

It may be remarked here, as a curious fact in the history of science, that the accurate solution of the problem of the Three Bodies, which has in the end established the system of gravitation on so solid a basis, seemed, on its first appearance, to threaten the total overthrow of that system. Clairaut found, on determining, from his solution, the motion of the longer axis of the moon's orbit, that it came out only the half of what it was known to be from astronomical observation. In consequence of this, he was persuaded, that the force with which the earth attracts the moon, does not decrease exactly as the squares of the distances increase, but that a part of it only follows that law, while another follows the inverse of the biquadrate or fourth power of the distances. The existence of such a law of attraction was violently opposed by Buffon, who objected to it the want of simplicity, and argued that there was no sufficient reason for determining what part of the attraction should be subject to the one of these laws, and what part to the other. Clairaut, and the other two mathematicians, (who had come to the same result), were not much influenced by this metaphysical argument; and the former proceeded to inquire what the proportion was between the two parts of the attraction that followed laws so different.

He was thus forced to carry his approximation further than he had done, and to include some quantities that had before been rejected as too small to affect the result. When he had done this, he found the numerator of the fraction that denoted the part of gravity which followed the new law, equal to nothing; or, in other words, that there was no such part. The candour of Clairaut did not suffer him to delay, a moment, the acknowledgment of this result; and also, that when his calculus was rectified, and the approximation carried to the full length, the motion of the moon's apsides as deduced from theory, coincided exactly with observation.

XUM

Thus, the lunar theory was brought to a very high degree of perfection; and the tables constructed by means of it, were found to give the moon's place true to 30″. Still, however, there was one inequality in the moon's motion, for which the principle of gravitation afforded no account whatever. This was what is known by the name of the moon's acceleration. Dr Halley had observed, on comparing the antient with modern observations, that the moon's motion round the earth appeared to be now performed in a shorter time than formerly; and this inequality appeared to have been regularly, though slowly, increasing; so that, on computing backward from the present time, it was necessary to suppose the moon to be uniformly retarded, (as in the case of a body ascending against gravity), the effect of this retardation increasing as the squares of the time. All astronomers admitted the existence of this inequality in the moon's motion; but no one saw any means of reconciling it with the principle of gravitation. All the irregularities of the moon arising from that cause had been found to be periodical; they were expressed in terms of the sines and cosines of arches; and though those arches depend on the time, and might increase with it continually, their sines and cosines had limits which they never could exceed, and from which they returned perpetually in the same order. Here, therefore, was one of the greatest anomalies yet discovered in the heavens—an inequality that increased continually, and altered the mean rate of the moon's motion. Various attempts were made to explain this phenomenon, and those too attended with much intricate and laborious investigation.

To some it appeared, that this perpetual decrease in the time of the moon's revolution, must arise from that resistance of the medium in which she moves, which, by lessening her absolute velocity, would give gravity more power over her; so that she would come nearer to the earth, would revolve in less time, and therefore with a greater angular velocity. This hypothesis, though so unlike what we are led to believe from all other appearances, must have been admitted, if, upon applying mathematical reasoning, it had been found to afford a good explanation of the appearances. It was found, however, on trial, that it did not; and that the moon's acceleration could not be explained by the supposed resistance of the ether.

Another hypothesis occurred, from which an explanation was attempted of this and of some great inequalities in the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, that seemed not to return periodically, and were therefore nearly in the same circumstances with the moon's acceleration. It was observed, that most of the agents we are

acquainted with, take time to pass from one point of space to another; that the force of gravity may be of this sort, and may not, any more than light, be instantaneously transmitted from the sun to the planets, or from the planets to one another. The effect that would arise from the time thus taken up by gravity, in its transmission from one point of space to another, was therefore investigated by the strictest laws of geometry; but it was found, that this hypothesis did not, any more than the preceding, afford an explanation of the moon's acceleration.

By this time, also, it was demonstrated, that there was not, and could not be, in our system, any inequality whatever produced by the mutual gravitation of the planets, that was not periodical, and that did not, after reaching a certain extent, go on to diminish by the same law that it had increased.

An entire suspense of opinion concerning the moon's acceleration therefore took place, till La Place found out a truth that had eluded the search of every other mathematician. It was known to him, both from the investigation of La Grange, and from his own, that there are changes in the eccentricities of the planetary orbits, extremely slow, and of which the full series is not accomplished but in a very long period. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit is subject to this sort of change; and as some of the lunar inequalities are known to depend on that eccentricity, they must vary slowly along with it; and hence an irregularity of a very long period in the moon's motion. On examining further, and the examination was a matter of great difficulty, La Place found this inequality to answer very exactly to what we have called the acceleration of the moon; for though, in strictness, it is not uniform, it varies so slowly, that it may be accounted uniform for all the time that astronomical observation has yet existed. It is a quantity of such a kind, and its period of change is so long, that for an interval of two thousand years, it may be considered as varying uniformly. Two thousand years are little more than an infinitesimal in this reckoning; and as an astronomer thinks he commits no error when he considers the rate of the sun's motion as uniform for twenty-four hours, so he commits none when he regards the rate of this equation as continuing the same for twenty centuries. That man, whose life, nay, the history of whose species, occupies such a mere point in the duration of the world, should come to the knowledge of laws that embrace myriads of ages in their revolution, is perhaps the most astonishing fact that the history of science exhibits.

Thus La Place put the last hand to the theory of the moon, nearly one hundred years after that theory had been propounded in the first edition of the Principia.

XUM

The branch of the theory of disturbing forces that relates to the action of the primary planets on one another, was cultivated during the same period, with equal diligence, and with equal success. In the years 1748 and 1752, the Academy of Sciences proposed for prize questions the inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn; both the prizes were gained by Euler, whose researches have thrown so much light on all the more difficult questions, both of the pure and the mixt mathematics. There was a particular difficulty that attended this inquiry, and distinguished it greatly from the case of the moon disturbed in its motion by so distant a body as the sun. In the case of Jupiter and Saturn, the disturbing body may be as near to the one disturbed as this last is to the body about which it revolves; for the distance of Saturn from Jupiter may sometimes be nearly the same with that of Jupiter from the sun. In such cases, the means of obtaining a series expressing the force of the one planet on the other, and converging quickly, was quite different from any thing required in the case of the moon, and was a matter of extreme difficulty. No man was more fit than Euler to contend with such a difficulty; he accordingly overcame it; and his mode of doing so has served as the model for all the similar researches that have since been made. It resulted from his investigation, that both the planets were subject to considerable inequalities, depending on the action of one another, but all of them periodical, and returning after certain stated intervals, not exceeding twenty or thirty years, nearly in the same order.

Though this agreed well with astronomical observations so far as it went, yet it afforded no account of two inequalities of very long periods, or perhaps of indefinite extent, which, by the comparison of antient and modern observations, seemed to affect the motions of these two planets in opposite directions.

This was a subject, therefore, that remained for further discussion. In the mean time, it was considered that the other planets must no doubt be affected in the same way; and both Euler and Clairaut gave computations of the disturbance which the earth suffers from Jupiter, Venus, and the Moon. The same was extended to the other planets; and a great additional degree of accuracy was thus given to all the tables of the planetary motions.

In the course of these researches, the change in the obliquity of the ecliptic came first to be perfectly recognized, and ascribed to the action of the planets above named on the Earth. It was proved by Euler, that the change in this obliquity is periodical, like all the others we have already seen; that it is not a constant diminution, but a small and slow oscillation on each side of a

mean quantity, by which it alternately increases and diminishes in the course of periods which are not all of the same length, but by which, in the course of many ages, a compensation ultimately takes place.

Still, however, the secular inequalities to which Jupiter and Saturn were subject, and which seemed to increase continually without any appearance of returning into themselves, were not accounted for; so that the problem of their disturbance was either imperfectly resolved, or they must be supposed to be subject to the action of a force different from their mutual attraction. In the course of about twenty centuries to which astronomical observation had extended, it appeared that the motion of Jupiter had been accelerated by 3° 23′, and that of Saturn retarded by 5° 13′. This had been first remarked by Dr Halley, and had been confirmed by the calculations of all the astronomers who came after him.

With a view to explain these appearances, Euler, resuming the subject, found two inequalities of long periods that belonged to Jupiter and Saturn; but they were not such as, either in their quantity or in their relation to one another, agreed with the facts observed. La Grange afterwards undertook the same investigation; but his results were unsatisfactory; and La Place himself, on pushing his approximation further than either of the other geometers had done, found that no alteration in the mean motion could be produced by the mutual action of these two planets. Physical astronomy was now embarrassed with a great difficulty, and at the same time was on the eve of one of the noblest discoveries it has ever made. The same La Grange, struck with this circumstance, that the calculus had never yet given any inequalities but such as were periodical, applied himself to the study of this general question, whether, in our planetary system, such inequalities as continually increase, or continually diminish, and by that means affect the mean motion of the planets, can ever be produced by their mutual gravitation. He found, by a method peculiar to himself, and independent of any approximation, that the inequalities produced by the mutual action of the planets, must, in effect, be all periodical: that amid all the changes which arise from their mutual action, two things remain perpetually the same; *viz.* the length of the greater axis of the ellipse which the planet describes, and its periodical time round the sun, or, which is the same thing, the mean distance of each planet from the sun, and its mean motion remain constant. The plane of the orbit varies, the species of the ellipse and its eccentricity change; but never, by any means whatever, the greater axis of the ellipse, or the time of the entire revolution of the planet. The discovery of this great principle, which we may consider as the bulwark

that secures the stability of our system, and excludes all access to confusion and disorder, must render the name of La Grange for ever memorable in science, and ever revered by those who delight in the contemplation of whatever is excellent and sublime. After Newton's discovery of the elliptic orbits of the planets, La Grange's discovery of their periodical inequalities is, without doubt, the noblest truth in physical astronomy; and, in respect of the doctrine of final causes, it may truly be regarded as the greatest of all.

The discovery of this great truth, however, on the present occasion, did but augment the difficulty with respect to those inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn, that seemed so uniform in their rate; and it became now more than ever probable, that some extraneous cause, different from gravitation, must necessarily be recognized.

It was here that La Place stepped in again to extricate philosophers from their dilemma. On subjecting the problem of the disturbances of the two planets above mentioned, to a new examination, he found that some of the terms expressing the inequalities of these planets, which seemed small, as they involved the third power of the eccentricities, had very long periods, depending on five times the mean motion of Saturn *minus* twice the mean motion of Jupiter, which is an extremely small quantity, the mean motion of Jupiter being to the mean motion of Saturn in a ratio not far from that of five to two. Hence it appeared, that each of these planets was subject to an inequality, having a period of nine hundred and seventeen years, amounting in the case of the former, when a maximum, to 48′ 44″, and in that of the other to 20′ 49″, with opposite signes.

These two results, therefore, are deduced from the theory of gravitation, and, when applied to the comparison of the antient and modern observations, are found to reconcile them precisely with one another. The two equations had reached their maximum in 1560: from that time, the apparent mean motions of the planets have been approaching to the true, and became equal to them in 1790. La Place has further observed, that the mean motions which any system of astronomy assigns to Jupiter and Saturn, give us some information concerning the time when that system was formed. Thus, the Hindoos seem to have formed their system when the mean motion of Jupiter was the slowest, and that of Saturn the most rapid; and the two periods which fulfil these conditions, come very near to the year 3102 before the Christian era, and the year 1491 after it, both of them remarkable epochs in the astronomy of Hindostan.

Thus, a perfect conformity is established between theory and

observation, in all that respects the disturbances of the primary planets and of the moon; there does not remain a single inequality unexplained; and a knowledge is obtained of several, of which the existence was indicated, though the law could not have been discovered by observation alone.

The discoveries of La Place had first been communicated in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences; as those of the other mathematicians above mentioned had been, either in these same Memoirs, or in those of Petersburgh and Berlin. An important service is rendered to science, by bringing all these investigations into one view, as is done in the *Méchanique Céleste*, and deducing them from the same principles in one and the same method. La Place, though far from the only one who had signalized himself in this great road of discovery, being the person who had put the last hand to every part, and had overcome the difficulties which had resisted the efforts of all the rest, was the man best qualified for this work, and best entitled to the honour that was to result from it. Indeed, of all the great cooperators in this unexampled career of discovery, La Grange and La Place himself were the only survivors when this work was published.

We cannot dismiss the general consideration of the problem of the *Three Bodies*, and of the Second Book of the *Méchanique Céleste*, without taking notice of another conclusion that relates particularly to the stability of the planetary system. The orbits of the planets are all ellipses, as is well known, having the sun in their common focus; and the distance of the focus from the centre of the ellipsis, is what astronomers call the eccentricity of the orbit. In all the planetary orbits, this eccentricity is small, and the ellipse approaches nearly to a circle. These eccentricities, however, continually change, though very slowly, in the progress of time, but in such a manner that none of them can ever become very great. They may vanish, or become nothing, when the orbit will be exactly circular; in which state, however, it will not continue, but change in the course of time, into an ellipsis, of an eccentricity that will vary as before, so as never to exceed a certain limit. What this limit is for each individual planet, would be difficult to determine, the expression of the variable eccentricities being necessarily very complex. But, notwithstanding of this, a general theorem, which shows that none of them can ever become great, is the result of one of La Place's investigations. It is this—If the mass of each planet be multiplied into the square of the eccentricity of its orbit, and this product into the square root of the axis of the same orbit, the sum of all these quantities, when they are added together, will re-

main for ever the same. This sum is a constant magnitude, which the mutual action of the planets cannot change, and which nature preserves free from alteration. Hence no one of the eccentricities can ever increase to a great magnitude; for as the mass of each planet is given, and also its axis, the square of the eccentricity in each, is multiplied into a given coefficient, and the sum of all the products so formed, is incapable of change. Here, therefore, we have again another general property, by which the stability of our system is maintained; by which every great alteration is excluded; and the whole made to oscillate, as it were, about a certain mean quantity, from which it can never greatly depart.

If it be asked, Is this quantity necessarily and unavoidably permanent in all systems that can be imagined, or under every possible constitution of the planetary orbits? We answer, By no means: if the planets did not all move one way,—if their orbits were not all nearly circular, and if their eccentricities were not small, the permanence of the preceding quantity would not take place. It is a permanence, then, which depends on conditions that are not necessary in themselves; and therefore we are authorized to consider such permanence as an argument of design in the construction of the universe.

When we thus obtain a limit, beyond which all the changes that can ever happen in our system shall never pass, we may be said to penetrate, not merely into the remotest ages of futurity, but to look beyond them, and to perceive an object, situated, if we may use the expression, on the other side of infinite duration.

Though in the detail into which we have now entered, we have anticipated many things that may be thought to belong to another place, we think that the leading facts are in this way least separated from one another. La Place, after treating of the problems of the *Three Bodies* generally in the Second book, to which the observations made above chiefly refer, resumes the consideration of the same problem, and the application of it to the tables of the planets in the Sixth and Seventh. These we shall be able to pass over slightly, as much of what might be said concerning them, is contained in the preceding remarks. We go on now to the Second Volume, which treats of the Figure of the Planets, and of the Tides.

In the First Book, a foundation was laid for this research by the general theorems that were investigated concerning the equilibrium of fluids and the rotation of bodies. These are applied here; first, to the figure of the planets in general; and afterwards particularly to the figure of the earth.

The first inquiry into the physical causes which determine the

figure of the earth and of the other planets, was the work of Newton, who showed, that a fluid mass revolving on its axis, and its particles gravitating to one another with forces inversely as the squares of their distances, must assume the figure of an oblate spheroid; and that, in the case of a homogeneous body, where the centrifugal force bore the same ratio to the force of gravity that obtains at the surface of the earth, the equatorial diameter of the spheroid must be to the polar axis as 231 to 230. The method by which this conclusion was deduced, was however by no means unexceptionable, as it took for granted, that the spheroid must be elliptical. The defects of the investigation were first supplied by Maclaurin, who treated the subject of the figure of the Earth in a manner alike estimable for its accuracy and its elegance. His demonstration had the imperfection, at least in a certain degree, of being synthetical; and this was remedied by Clairaut; who, in a book on the figure of the Earth, treated the subject still more fully; simplified the view of the equilibrium that determines the figure; and showed the true connexion between the compression at the poles and the diminution of gravity on going from the poles to the equator, whatever be the internal structure of the spheroid. Several mathematicians considered the same subject afterwards; and, in particular, Le Gendre proved, that, for every fluid mass given in magnitude, and revolving on its axis in a given time, there are two elliptic spheroids that answer the conditions of equilibrium: in the instance of the Earth, one of these has its eccentricity in the ratio of 231 to 230; the other, in the ratio of 680 to 1.

The results of those investigations, with the addition of several quite new, are brought together in the work before us, and deduced according to the peculiar methods of the author. These theoretical conclusions are next applied to the experiments and observations that have been actually made, whether by determining the length of the seconds pendulum in different latitudes, or by the measurement of degrees. After a very full discussion, and a comparison of several different arches, on each of which an error is allowed, and this condition superadded, that the sum of the positive and negative errors shall be equal, and, at the same time, the sum of all the errors, supposing them positive, shall be a minimum, La Place finds that the result is not reconcileable with the hypothesis of an elliptic spheroid, unless a greater error be admitted in some of the degrees than is consistent with probability. In this determination, however, the Lapland degree is taken as measured by Maupertuis, and the other academicians who assisted him. The correction by the Swedish mathemati-

cians was not made when this part of La Place's work was published. If that correction is attended to, the result will come out more favourable to the elliptic theory than he supposes. There are, however, even after that correction is admitted, considerable deviations from the elliptic figure, such as the attraction of mountains is hardly sufficient to explain. The degrees that have been lately measured in France with so much exactness, compared with one another, give an ellipticity of about $\frac{1}{170}$, and the same ellipticity corresponds well to the degrees measured in the trigonometrical survey of England, whether of the meridian, or the perpendicular to it. At the same time, the measures in France compared with those in Peru, give $\frac{1}{114}$ for the ellipticity of the meridian, which is less than half the former quantity. The observations of the lengths of the pendulum give the same nearly; so that this may be taken as the mean result.

The Fourth book of the *Méchanique Céleste*, treats of the Tides;—a subject on which much new light has been thrown by the investigations of La Place.

The first satisfactory explanation which was given of the flux and reflux of the sea, was that of Newton, founded on the principle of attraction. The force of the moon acting on the terrestrial spheroid, supposing this last to be covered with water, must tend, as Newton demonstrated, to diminish the gravity of the waters toward the earth, both at the point where the moon was vertical, and at the point diametrically opposite; and this is such a ratio, that the waters would assume the figure of an oblong elliptic spheroid, with its greater axis directed to the moon. The sun must affect the great mass of the waters in a similar manner, and produce an aqueous spheroid, that at the time of new and full moon would coincide with the former, and therefore augment its effect; while at the quarters it would be at right angles to it, and in part destroy that effect.

The subject, however, was not so fully handled by Newton, but that great room appeared for improvements; and accordingly, the subject of the tides was proposed as the prize-question by the Academy of Sciences in the year 1740. This produced the three excellent dissertations of Daniel, Bernoulli, Euler, and Maclaurin, which shared the prize; but shared it, we must confess, with another essay, that of Father Cavalleri a Jesuit, who endeavoured to explain the tides by the system of vortices. It is the last time that the vortices entered the lists with the theory of gravitation.

Many excellent dissertations on the same subject have appeared since; but they are all defective in this, that they suppose the waters of the ocean in a state of equilibrium, or to be

brought, by the action of gravitation, toward the earth, and toward the two other bodies just mentioned, into the figure of an aqueous spheroid, where the particles of the water, by the action of these different forces, were maintained at rest.

This, however, is by no means the case: the rotation of the Earth does not allow time to this spheroid ever to be accurately formed; and, long before the three attractions are able to produce their full effect, they are changed relatively to one another, and disposed to produce a different effect. Instead, therefore, of the actual formation of an aqueous spheroid, the tendency to it produces a continual oscillation in the waters of the ocean, which are thus preserved in perpetual movement, and never can attain a state of equilibrium and of rest. To determine the nature of these oscillations, however, is a matter of extreme difficulty, and is a problem which neither Newton, nor any of the three geometers who pursued his tract, was able, in the state of mechanical and mathematical science which then existed, to resolve. The best thing which they could do, was that which they actually accomplished, by inquiring into the nature of the spheroid, which, though never actually attained, was an ideal mean to which the real state of the waters made a periodical and imperfect approach. Neither the state of mechanical or mathematical science was such as could yet enable any one to determine the motions of a fluid, acted on by the three gravitations above mentioned, and having, besides, a rotatory motion. The nature of fluids was not so well known as to admit of the differential equations containing the conditions of such motions to be exhibited; and mathematical science was not so improved as to be able to integrate such equations. The first man who felt himself in possession of all the principles required to this arduous investigation, and who was bold enough to undertake a work, which, with all these resources, could not fail to involve much difficulty, was La Place; who, in the years 1775, 1779 and 1790, communicated to the Academy of Sciences a series of memoirs on this subject, which he has united and extended in the Fourth book of the *Méchanique Céleste.*

Considering each particle of water as acted on by three forces, its gravitation to the earth, to the sun and to the moon, and also as impelled by the rotation of the earth, he inquires into the nature of the oscillations that will be excited in the fluid. He finds, that the oscillations thus arising may be divided into three classes. The first do not depend on the rotation of the earth, but only on the motion of the sun or moon in their respective orbits, and on the place of the moon's nodes. These oscillations vary periodically, but slowly; so that they do not return in the same order,

XUM

till after a very long interval of time. The oscillations of the second class, depend principally on the rotation of the earth, and return in the same order, after the interval of a day nearly. The oscillations of the third class, depend on an angle that is double the angular rotation of the earth; so that they return after the interval nearly of half a day. Each of these classes of oscillations, proceeds just as if the other two had no existence; a circumstance that tends very much to simplify the investigation into their combined effect.

The oscillations of the first kind are proved to be almost entirely destroyed by the resistance which any motion of the whole sea must necessarily meet with; and they amount nearly to the same as if the sea were reduced at every instant to an equilibrium under the attracting body.

The oscillations of the second class involve, in the expression of them, the rotation of the earth; and they are also affected by the depth of the sea. The difference of the two tides in the same day, depend chiefly on these oscillations; and it is from thence that La Place determines the mean depth of the sea to be about four leagues.

The oscillations of the third kind, are calculated in the same manner; and from the combination of all these circumstances, the height of the tides in different latitudes, in different situations of the sun and moon;—the difference between the consecutive tides,—the difference between the time of high water and the times when the sun and moon come to the meridian,—all these circumstances are better explained in this method than they have ever been by any other theory. La Place has instituted a very elaborate comparison between his theory and observations on the tides, made during a succession of years at Brest, a situation remarkably favourable for such observations.

1. Between the laws by which the tides diminish from their maximum at the full and change, to their minimum at the first and third quarters, and by which they increase again from the minimum to the maximum, as deduced from the observations at Brest, and as determined by the theory of gravitation, there is an exact coincidence.

2. According to theory, the height of the tides, at their maximum, near the equinoxes, is to their height in similar circumstances at the solstices, nearly as the square of the radius to the square of the cosine of the declination of the sun at the solstice; and this is found to agree nearly with observation.

3. The influence of the moon on the tides increases as the cube of her parallax; and this agrees so well with observation, that the law might have been deduced from observation alone.

4. The retardation of the tides from one day to another, is but half as great at the syzigies as at the quadratures. This is the conclusion from theory; and it agrees well with observation, which makes the daily retardation of the tide 27′ in the one case, and 55′ in the other.

Many more examples of this agreement are mentioned; and it is highly satisfactory to find the genuine results of the theory of gravitation, when deduced with an attention to all the circumstances, and without any hypothetical simplification whatsoever, so fully confirmed in the instance that is nearest to us, and the most obvious to our senses.

La Place has treated a subject connected with the tides, that, so far as we know, has not been touched on by any author before him. This is the stability of the equilibrium of the sea. A fluid surrounding a solid nucleus, may either be so attracted to that nucleus, that, when any motion is communicated to it, it will oscillate backwards and forwards till its motion is destroyed by the resistance it meets with, when it will again settle into rest; or it may be in such a state, that when any motion is communicated to it, its vibrations may increase, and become of enormous magnitude. Whether the sea may not, by such means, have risen above the tops of the highest mountains, deserves to be considered; as that hypothesis, were it found to be consistent with the laws of nature, would serve to explain many of the phenomena of natural history. M. La Place, with this view, has inquired into the nature of the equilibrium of the sea, or into the possibility of such vast undulations being propagated through it. The result is, that the equilibrium of the sea must be stable, and its oscillations continually tending to diminish, if the density of its waters be less than the mean density of the earth; and that its equilibrium does not admit of subversion, unless the mean density of the earth was equal to that of water, or less. As we know, from the experiments made on the attraction of mountains, as well as from other facts, that the sea is more than four times less dense than the materials which compose the solid nucleus of the globe are at a medium, the possibility of these great undulations is entirely excluded; and therefore, says La Place, if, as cannot well be questioned, the sea has formerly covered continents that are now much elevated above its level, the cause must be sought for elsewhere than in the instability of its equilibrium.

With the questions of the figure of the earth, and of the flux and reflux of the sea, that of the precession of the equinoxes is closely connected; and La Place has devoted his Fifth book to the consideration of it. This motion, though slow, being always in the same direction, and therefore continually accumulating, had

early been remarked, and was the first of the celestial appearances that suggested the idea of an *annus magnus*, one of those great astronomical periods by which so many days and years are circumscribed. As it affects the whole heavens, and as the changes it produces are spread out over the vast extent of 25,000 years, it has proved a valuable guide amid the darkness of antiquity, and has enabled the astronomer to steer his course with tolerable certainty, and here and there to discover a truth in the midst of the traditions and fables of the heroic ages.

Newton was the first who turned his thoughts to the physical cause of this appearance; and it required all the sagacity and penetration of that great man to discover this cause in the principle of universal gravitation. The effect of the forces of the sun and moon on that excess of matter which surrounds the earth at the equator, must, as he has proved, produce a slow angular motion in the plane of the latter, and in a direction contrary to that of the earth's rotation. The accurate analysis of the complicated effect that was thus produced, was a work that surpassed the power, either of geometry or mechanics, at the time when Newton wrote; and his investigation, accordingly, was founded on assumptions that, though not destitute of probability, could not be shown to be perfectly conformable to truth; and it even involved a mechanical principle, which was taken up without due consideration. Nevertheless, the glory of having been first in the career, is not tarnished by a partial failure, and is a possession which the justice of posterity does not suffer Newton to share even with those who have since been more successful in their researches.

The first of these was D'Alembert. That excellent mathematician gave a solution of this problem that has never been surpassed for accuracy and depth of reasoning, though it may have been, for simplicity and shortness. He employed the principle already ascribed to him of the equilibrium among the forces destroyed when any change of motion is produced; and it was by means of the equations that this proposition furnished, that he was enabled to proceed without the introduction of hypothesis. Solutions of the same problem have since been given by several mathematicians, by Thomas Simpson, Frisi, Walmsley, &c. and many others; not, however, without some difference (such is the difficulty of the investigation) in the results they have obtained. La Place has gone over the same ground, more that he might give unity and completeness to his work, than that he could expect to add much to the solution of D'Alembert. As he has proceeded in a more general manner than the latter, he has obtained some conclusions not included in this solution. He has shown,

that the phenomena of the precession and nutation must be the same in the actual state of our terraqueous spheroid, as if the whole was a solid mass; and that this is true, whatever be the irregularity of the depth of the sea. He shows also, that currents in the sea, rivers, trade-winds, even earthquakes, can have no effect in altering the earth's rotation on its axis. The conclusions with regard to the constitution of the earth that are found to agree with the actual quantity of the precession of the equinoxes are, that the density of the earth increases from the circumference toward the centre; that it has the form of an ellipsoid of revolution, or, as we use to call it, of an elliptic spheroid; and that the compression of this spheroid at the poles is between the limits of $\frac{1}{104}$ and $\frac{1}{578}$ part of the radius of the equator.

The Second part of La Place's work, has, for its object, a fuller development of the disturbances of the planets, both primary and secondary, than was compatible with the limits of the First part. After the ample detail into which we have entered concerning two of these subjects, the theory of the moon and the perturbations of the primary planets, we need not enlarge on them further, though they are prosecuted in the second part of this work, and form the subject of the Sixth and Seventh books. In the Second book, the inequalities had been explained, that depend on the simple power of the eccentricity: here we have those that depend on the second and higher powers of the same quantity; and such are the secular equations of Jupiter and Saturn, above mentioned. The numeral computations are then performed, and every thing prepared for the complete construction of astronomical tables, as the final result of all these investigations. The calculations, of course, are of vast extent and difficulty, and incredibly laborious. In carrying them on, La Place had the assistance, as he informs us, of De Lambre, Bouvard, and other members of the Institute. The labour is indeed quite beyond the power of any individual to execute.

The same may be said of the Seventh book, which is devoted to a similar development of the lunar theory. We can enter into no further detail on this subject. One fact we cannot help mentioning, which is to the credit of two British astronomers, Messrs Mason and Dixon, who gave a new edition of Mayer's tables, more diligently compared with observation, and therefore more accurate, than the original one. Among other improvements, was an *empirical* equation, amounting to a little more than 20″ when a maximum, which was not founded on theory, but was employed because it made the tables agree better with observation. As this equation, however, was not derived from princi-

XUM

ple (for the two astronomers, just named, though accurate observers and calculators, were not skilled enough in the mathematics to attempt deducing it from principle), it was generally rejected by other astronomers. La Place, however, found that it was not to be rejected; but, in reality, proceeded from the compression of the earth at the poles, which prevents the gravitation to the earth from decreasing, precisely as the squares of the distances increase, and by that means produces this small irregularity. The quantity of the polar compression that agrees best with this, and some other of the lunar irregularities, is nearly that which was stated above, $\frac{1}{304}$ of the mean radius of the earth. The ellipticity of the sun does, in like manner, affect the primary planets; but, as its influence diminishes fast as the distance increases, it extends no further (in any sensible degree) than the orbit of Mercury, where its only effect is to produce a very small direct movement of the line of the apsides, and an equal retrograde motion of the nodes, relatively to the sun's equator. We may judge from this, to what minuteness the researches of this author have extended: and, in general, when accuracy is the object to be obtained, the smaller the quantity to be determined, the more difficult the investigation.

The Eighth book has for its object, to calculate the disturbances produced by the action of the secondary planets on one another; and particularly refers to the satellites of Jupiter, the only system of secondary planets on which accurate observations have been, or, probably, can be made. Though these satellites have been known only since the invention of the telescope, yet the quickness of their revolutions has, in the space of two centuries, exhibited all the changes which time develops so slowly in the system of the primary planets; so that there are abundant materials for a comparison between fact and theory. The general principles of the theory are the same that were explained in the Second book; but there are some peculiarities, that arise from the constitution of Jupiter's system, that deserve to be considered. We have seen, above, what is the effect of commensurability, or an approach to it, in the mean motion of contiguous planets; and here we have another example of the same. The mean motions of the three first satellites of Jupiter, are nearly as the numbers 4, 2, and 1; and hence a periodical system of inequalities, which our astronomer Bradley was sharp-sighted enough to discover in the observation of the eclipses of these satellites, and to state as amounting to 437.6 days. This is now fully explained from the theory of the action of the satellites.

Another singularity in this secondary system, is, that the mean longitude of the first satellite *minus* three times that of

the second, *plus* twice that of the third, never differs from two right angles but by a quantity almost insensible.

One can hardly suppose that the original motions were so adjusted as to answer exactly to this condition; it is more natural to suppose that they were only nearly so adjusted, and that the exact coincidence has been brought about by their mutual action. This conjecture is verified by the theory, where it is demonstrated that such a change might have been actually produced in the mean motion by the mutual action of those planetary bodies, after which the system would remain stable, and no further change in those motions would take place.

Not only are the mutual actions of the satellites taken into account in the estimate of their irregularities, but the effect of Jupiter's spheroidal figure is also introduced. Even the masses of the satellites are inferred from their effect in disturbing the motions of one another.

In the Ninth book La Place treats of Comets, of the methods of determining their orbits, and of the disturbances they suffer from the planets. We cannot follow him in this; and have only to add, that his profound and elaborate researches are such as we might expect from the author of the preceding investigations.

The Tenth book is more miscellaneous than any of the preceding; it treats of different points relative to the system of the world. One of the most important of these is astronomical refraction. The rays of light from the celestial bodies, on entering the Earth's atmosphere, meet with strata that are more dense the nearer they approach to the Earth's surface; they are therefore bent continually toward the denser medium, and describe curves that have their concavity turned toward the Earth. The angle formed by the original direction of the ray, and its direction at the point where it enters the eye, is called the astronomical refraction. La Place seeks to determine this angle by tracing the path of the ray through the atmosphere; a research of no inconsiderable difficulty, and in which the author has occasion to display his skill both in mathematical and in inductive investigation. The method he pursues in the latter is deserving of attention, as it is particularly well adapted to cases that occur often in the more intricate kinds of physical discussion.

The path of the ray would be determined from the laws of refraction, did we know the law by which the density of the air decreases from the earth upwards. This last, however, is not known, except for a small extent near the surface of the earth, so that we appear here to be left without sufficient data for continuing the investigation. We must, therefore, ei-

XUM

ther abandon the problem altogether, or resolve it hypothetically, that is, by assuming some hypothesis as to the decrease of the density of the atmosphere. Little would be gained by this last, except as an exercise in mathematical investigation, if it were not that the total quantity of the refraction for a given altitude can be accurately determined by observation. La Place, availing himself of this consideration, begins with making a supposition concerning the law of the density, that is not very remote from the truth, (as we are assured of from the relation between the density of air and the force with which it is compressed); and he compares the horizontal refraction, calculated on this assumption, with that which is known to be its true quantity. The first hypothesis which he assumes, is that of the density being the same throughout: this gives the total refraction too small, and falls on that account to be rejected, even if it were liable to no other objection. The second hypothesis supposes a uniform temperature through the whole extent of the atmosphere; or it supposes that the density decreases in geometrical proportion, while the distance from the earth increases in arithmetical. The refraction which results is too great; so that this supposition must also be rejected.

If we now suppose the density of the air to decrease in arithmetical progression, while the height does the same, and integrate the differential equation to the curve described by the ray; on this hypothesis, the horizontal refraction is too small, but nearer the truth than on the first hypothesis. A supposition intermediate between that which gave the refraction too great, and this which gives it too small, is therefore to be assumed as that which approaches the nearest to the truth. It is this way of limiting his conjectures by repeated trials, and of extracting from each, by means of the calculus, all the consequences involved in it, that we would recommend to experimenters, as affording one of the most valuable and legitimate uses of hypothetical reasoning. He then employs an intermediate hypothesis for the diminution of the density of the air; which it is not easy to express in words; but from which he obtains a result that agrees with the horizontal refraction, and from which, of course, he proceeds to deduce the refraction for all other altitudes. The table, so constructed, we have no doubt, will be found to contribute materially to the accuracy of astronomical observation.

The researches which immediately follow this, relate to the terrestrial refraction, and the measurement of heights by the barometer. The formula given for the latter, is more complicated than that which is usually employed with us in Britain, where

this subject has been studied with great care. In one respect, it is more general than any of our formulas; it contains an allowance for the difference of latitude. We are not sure whether this correction is of much importance, nor have we had leisure to compare the results with those of General Roy and Sir George Schuckborough. . We hardly believe, that, in point of accuracy, the two last can easily be exceeded.

The book concludes with a determination of the masses of the planets, more accurate than had been before given; and even of the satellites of Jupiter. ' Of all the attempts of the Newtonian philosophy,' says the late Adam Smith in his History of Astronomy, ' that which would appear to be the most above the reach of human reason and experience, is the attempt to compute the weights and densities of the sun, and of the several planets.' What would this philosopher have said, if he had lived to see the same balance in which the vast body of the sun had been weighed, applied to examine such minute atoms as the satellites of Jupiter?

Such is the work of La Place, affording an example, which is yet solitary in the history of human knowledge, of a theory entirely complete; one that has not only accounted for all the phenomena that were known, but that has discovered many before unknown, which observation has since recognized. In this theory, not only the elliptic motion of the planets, relatively to the sun, but the irregularities produced by their mutual action, whether of the primary on the primary, of the primary on the secondary, or of the secondary on one another, are all deduced from the principle of gravitation, that mysterious power, which unites the most distant regions of space, and the most remote periods of duration. To this we must add the great truths brought in view and fully demonstrated, by tracing the action of the same power through all its mazes:—That all the inequalities in our system are periodical; that, by a fixt appointment in nature, they are each destined to revolve in the same order, and between the same limits; that the mean distances of the planets from the sun, and the time of their revolutions round that body, are susceptible of no change whatsoever; that our system is thus secured against natural decay,—order and regularity preserved in the midst of so many disturbing causes,—and anarchy and misrule eternally proscribed.

The work where this sublime picture is delineated, does honour, not to the author only, but to the human race; and marks, undoubtedly, the highest point to which man has yet ascended in the scale of intellectual attainment. The glory, therefore, of having produced this work, belongs, not to the author

XUM

alone, but must be shared, in various proportions, among the philosophers and mathematicians of all ages. Their efforts, from the age of Euclid and Archimedes, to the time of Newton and La Place, have all been required to the accomplishment of this great object; they have been all necessary to form one man for the author, and a few for the readers, of the work before us. Every mathematician who has extended the bounds of his science; every astronomer who has added to the number of facts, and the accuracy of observation; every artist who has improved the construction of the instruments of astronomy—all have co-operated in preparing a state of knowledge in which such a book could exist, and in which its merit could be appreciated. They have collected the materials, sharpened the tools, or constructed the engines employed in the great edifice, founded by Newton, and completed by La Place.

In this estimate we detract nothing from the merit of the author himself; his originality, his invention, and comprehensive views, are above all praise; nor can any man boast of a higher honour than that the Genius of the human race is the only rival of his fame.

This review naturally gives rise to a great variety of reflections. We shall state only one or two of those that most obviously occur.

When we consider the provision made by nature for the stability and permanence of the planetary system, a question arises, which was before hinted at,—whether is this stability necessary or contingent, the effect of an unavoidable or an arbitrary arrangement?—If it is the necessary consequence of conditions which are themselves necessary, we cannot infer from them the existence of design, but must content ourselves with admiring them as simple and beautiful truths, having a necessary and independent existence. If, on the other hand, the conditions from which this stability arises necessarily, are not necessary themselves, but the consequences of an arrangement that might have been different, we are then entitled to conclude, that it is the effect of Wise Design exercised in the construction of the universe.

Now, the investigations of La Place enable us to give a very satisfactory reply to these questions; *viz.* that the conditions essential to the stability of a system of bodies gravitating mutually to one another, are by no means necessary, insomuch that systems can easily be supposed in which no such stability exists. The conditions essential to it, are the movement of the bodies all in one direction—their having orbits of small eccentricity, or not far different from circles—and having periods of revolution not commensurable with one another. Now, these conditions are not necessary; they may easily he supposed different; any of

them might be changed, while the others remained the same. The appointment of such conditions therefore as would necessarily give a stable and permanent character to the system, is not the work of necessity; and no one will be so absurd as to argue, that it is the work of chance: It is therefore the work of design, or of intention, conducted by wisdom and foresight of the most perfect kind. Thus the discoveries of La Grange and La Place lead to a very beautiful extension of the doctrine of *final causes*, the more interesting the greater the objects are to which they relate. This is not taken notice of by La Place; and that it is not, is the only blemish we have to remark in his admirable work. He may have thought that it was going out of his proper province, for a geometer or a mechanician to occupy himself in such speculations. Perhaps, in strictness, it is so; but the digression is natural: and when, in any system, we find certain conditions established that are not necessary in themselves, we may be indulged so far as to inquire, whether any explanation of them can be given, and whether, if not referable to a mechanical cause, they may not be ascribed to Intelligence.

When we mention that the small eccentricity of the planetary orbits, and the motion of the planets in the same direction, are essential to the stability of the system, it may naturally occur, that the comets which obey neither of these laws in their motion may be supposed to affect that stability, and to occasion irregularities which will not compensate one another. This would, no doubt, be the effect of the comets that pass through our system, were they bodies of great mass, or of great quantity of matter. There are many reasons, however, for supposing them to have very little density; so that their effect in producing any disturbance of the planets is wholly inconsiderable.

An observation somewhat of the same kind is applicable to the planets lately discovered. They are very small; and therefore the effect they can have in disturbing the motions of the larger planets is so inconsiderable, that, had they been known to La Place (Ceres only was known), they could have given rise to no change in his conclusions. The circumstance of two of these planets having nearly, if not accurately, the same periodic time, and the same mean distance, may give rise to some curious applications of his theorems. Both these planets may be considerably disturbed by Jupiter, and perhaps by Mars.

Another reflection, of a very different kind from the preceding, must present itself, when we consider the historical details concerning the progress of physical astronomy that have occurred in the foregoing pages. In the list of the mathematicians and philosophers, to whom that science, for the last sixty or seventy years,

XUM

has been indebted for its improvements, hardly a name from Great Britain falls to be mentioned. What is the reason of this? and how comes it, when such objects were in view, and when so much reputation was to be gained, that the country of Bacon and Newton looked silently on, without taking any share in so noble a contest? In the short view given above, we have hardly mentioned any but the five principal performers; but we might have quoted several others, Fontaine, Lambert, Frisi, Condorcet, Bailly, &c. who contributed their share to bring about the conclusion of the piece. In the list, even so extended, there is no British name. It is true, indeed, that before the period to which we now refer, Maclaurin had pointed out an improvement in the method of treating central forces, that has been of great use in all the investigations that have a reference to that subject. This was the resolution of the forces into others parallel to two or to three axes given in position and at right angles to one another. In the controversy that arose about the motion of the apsides in consequence of Clairaut's deducing from theory only half the quantity that observation had established, as already stated, Simpson and Walmesley took a part; and their essays are allowed to have great merit. The late Dr Mathew Stewart also treated the same subject with singular skill and success, in his Essay on the Sun's distance. The same excellent geometer, in his Physical Tracts, has laid down several propositions that had for their object the determination of the Moon's irregularities. His demonstrations, however, are all geometrical; and leave us to regret, that a mathematician of so much originality preferred the elegant methods of the antient geometry, to the more powerful analysis of modern algebra. Beside these, we recollect no other names of our countrymen distinguished in the researches of physical astronomy during this period; and of these none made any attempt toward the solution of the great problems that then occupied the philosophers and mathematicians of the Continent. This is the more remarkable, that the interests of navigation were deeply involved in the question of the lunar theory; so that no motive, which a regard to reputation or to interest could create, was wanting to engage the mathematicians of England in the inquiry. Nothing, therefore, certainly prevented them from engaging in it, but consciousness that, in the knowledge of the higher geometry, they were not on a footing with their brethren on the Continent. This is the conclusion which unavoidably forces itself upon us, and which will be but too well confirmed by looking back to the particulars which we stated in the beginning of this review, as either essential or highly conducive to the improvements in physical astronomy.

The calculus of the sines was not known in England till within these few years. Of the method of partial differences, no mention, we believe, is yet to be found in any English author, much less the application of it to any investigation. The general methods of integrating differential or fluxionary equations; the criterion of integrability, the properties of homogeneous equations, &c. were all of them unknown; and it could hardly be said, that, in the more difficult parts of the doctrine of Fluxions, any improvement had been made beyond those of the inventor. At the moment when we now write, the treatises of Maclaurin and Simpson, are the best which we have on the fluxionary calculus, though such a vast multitude of improvements have been made by the foreign mathematicians, since the time of their first publication. These are facts, which it is impossible to disguise; and they are of such extent, that a man may be perfectly acquainted with every thing on mathematical learning that has been written in this country, and may yet find himself stopped at the first page of the works of Euler or D'Alembert. He will be stopped, not from the difference of the fluxionary notation, (a difficulty easily overcome), nor from the obscurity of these authors, who are both very clear writers, especially the first of them, but from want of knowing the principles and the methods which they take for granted as known to every mathematical reader. If we come to works of still greater difficulty, such as the *Méchanique Céleste*, we will venture to say, that the number of those in this island, who can read that work with any tolerable facility, is small indeed. If we reckon two or three in London and the military schools in its vicinity, the same number at each of the two English Universities, and perhaps four in Scotland, we shall not hardly exceed a dozen; and yet we are fully persuaded that our reckoning is beyond the truth.

If any further proof of our inattention to the higher mathematics, and our unconcern about the discoveries of our neighbours were required, we would find it in the commentary on the works of Newton, that so lately appeared. Though that commentary was the work of a man of talents, and one who, in this country, was accounted a geometer, it contains no information about the recent discoveries to which the Newtonian system has given rise; not a word of the problem of the Three Bodies, of the disturbances of the planetary motions, or of the great contrivance by which these disturbances are rendered periodical, and the regularity of the system preserved. The same silence is observed as to all the improvements in the integral calculus, which it was the duty of a commentator on Newton to have traced to their origin, and to have connected with the discoveries of his master. If Dr

Horsley has not done so, it could only be because he was unacquainted with these improvements, and had never studied the methods by which they have been investigated, or the language in which they are explained.

At the same time that we state these facts as incontrovertible proofs of the inferiority of the English mathematicians to those of the Continent, in the higher department; it is but fair to acknowledge, that a certain degree of mathematical science, and indeed no inconsiderable degree, is perhaps more widely diffused in England, than in any other country of the world. The Ladies' Diary, with several other periodical and popular publications of the same kind, are the best proofs of this assertion. In these, many curious problems, not of the highest order indeed, but still having a considerable degree of difficulty, and far beyond the mere elements of science, are often to be met with; and the great number of ingenious men who take a share in proposing and answering these questions, whom one has never heard of any where else, is not a little surprising. Nothing of the same kind, we believe, is to be found in any other country. The Ladies' Diary has now been continued for more than a century; the poetry, enigmas, &c. which it contains, are in the worst taste possible; and the scraps of literature and philosophy are so childish or so old-fashioned, that one is very much at a loss to form a notion of the class of readers to whom they are addressed. The geometrical part, however, has always been conducted in a superior style; the problems proposed have tended to awaken curiosity, and the solutions to convey instruction in a much better manner than is always to be found in more splendid publications. If there is a decline, therefore, or a deficiency in mathematical knowledge in this country, it is not to the genius of the people, but to some other cause, that it must be attributed.

An attachment to the synthetical methods of the old geometers, in preference to those that are purely analytical, has often been assigned as the cause of this inferiority of the English mathematicians since the time of Newton. This cause is hinted at by several foreign writers, and we must say that we think it has had no inconsiderable effect. The example of Newton himself may have been hurtful in this respect. That great man, influenced by the prejudices of the times, seems to have thought that algebra and fluxions might be very properly used in the investigation of truth, but that they were to be laid aside when truth was to be communicated, and synthetical demonstrations, if possible, substituted in their room. This was to embarrass scientific method with a clumsy and ponderous apparatus, and to render its progress indirect and slow in an incalculable degree. The controversy

that took place, concerning the invention of the fluxionary and the differential calculus, tended to confirm those prejudices, and to alienate the minds of the British from the foreign mathematicians, and the analytical methods which they pursued. That this reached beyond the minds of ordinary men, is clear from the way in which Robins censures Euler and Bernoulli, chiefly for their love of algebra, while he ought to have seen that in the very works which he criticizes with so much asperity, things are performed which neither he nor any of his countrymen, at that time, could have ventured to undertake.

We believe, however, that it is chiefly in the public institutions of England that we are to seek for the cause of the deficiency here referred to, and particularly in the two great centres from which knowledge is supposed to radiate over all the rest of the island. In one of these, where the dictates of Aristotle are still listened to as infallible decrees, and where the infancy of science is mistaken for its maturity, the mathematical sciences have never flourished; and the scholar has no means of advancing beyond the mere elements of geometry. In the other seminary, the dominion of prejudice is not equally strong; and the works of Locke and Newton are the text from which the prelections are read. Mathematical learning is there the great object of study; but still we must disapprove of the method in which this object is pursued. A certain portion of the works of Newton, or of some other of the writers who treat of pure or mixt mathematics in the synthetic method, is prescribed to the pupil, which the candidate for academical honours must study day and night. He must study it, not to learn the spirit of geometry, or to acquire the δυναμις ευρετικη by which the theorems were discovered, but to know them as a child does his catechism, by heart, so as to answer readily to certain interrogations. In all this, the invention finds no exercise; the student is confined within narrow limits; his curiosity is not roused; the spirit of discovery is not awakened. Suppose that a young man studying mechanics, is compelled to get by heart the whole of the heavy and verbose demonstrations contained in Keil's introduction (which we believe is an exercise sometimes prescribed); what is likely to be the consequence? The exercise afforded to the understanding by those demonstrations, may no doubt be improving to the mind; but as soon as they are well understood, the natural impulse is to go on; to seek for something higher; or to think of the application of the theorems demonstrated. If this natural expansion of the mind is restrained; if the student is forced to fall back, and to go again and again over the same ground, disgust is likely to ensue; the more likely, indeed, the more he is fitted

for a better employment of his talents; and the least evil that can be produced, is the loss of the time, and the extinction of the ardour that might have enabled him to attempt investigation himself, and to acquire both the power and the taste of discovery. Confinement to a regular routine, and moving round and round in the same circle, must, of all things, be the most pernicious to the inventive faculty. The laws of periodical revolution, and of returning continually in the same track, may, as we have seen, be excellently adapted to a planetary system, but are ill calculated to promote the ends of an academical institution. We would wish to see, then, some of those secular accelerations by which improvements go on increasing from one age to another. But this has been rarely the case; and it is melancholy to reflect, how many of the universities of Europe have been the strongholds where prejudice and error made their last stand—the fastnesses from which they were latest of being dislodged. We do not mean to hint that this is true of the university of which we now speak, where the credit of teaching the doctrines of Locke and Newton is sufficient to cover a multitude of sins. Still, however, we must take the liberty to say, that Newton is taught there in the way least conducive to solid mathematical improvement.

Perhaps, too, we might allege, that another public institution, intended for the advancement of science, the Royal Society, has not held out, in the course of the greater part of the last century, sufficient encouragement for mathematical learning. But this would lead to a long disquisition: And we shall put an end to the present digression, with remarking, that though the mathematicians of England have taken no share in the deeper researches of physical astronomy, the observers of that country have discharged their duty better. The observations of Bradley and Maskelyne have been of the utmost importance in this theory; their accuracy, their number, and their uninterrupted series, have rendered them a fund of immense astronomical riches. Taken in conjunction with the observations made at Paris, they have furnished La Place with the *data* for fixing the numerical values of the constant quantities in his different series; without which his investigations could have had no practical application. We may add, that no man has so materially contributed to render the formulas of the mathematician useful to the art of the navigator, as the present Astronomer-Royal. He has been the main instrument of bringing down this philosophy from the heavens to the earth; of adapting it to the uses of the unlearned; and of making the problem of the Three Bodies the surest guide of the mariner in his journey across the ocean.

ART. II. *Hours of Idleness: A Series of Poems, Original and Translated.* By GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON, a Minor. 8vo. pp. 200. Newark, 1807.

THE poesy of this young lord belongs to the class which neither gods nor men are said to permit. Indeed, we do not recollect to have seen a quantity of verse with so few deviations in either direction from that exact standard. His effusions are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the level, than if they were so much stagnant water. As an extenuation of this offence, the noble author is peculiarly forward in pleading minority. We have it in the title-page, and on the very back of the volume; it follows his name like a favourite part of his *style.* Much stress is laid upon it in the preface, and the poems are connected with this general statement of his case, by particular dates, substantiating the age at which each was written. Now, the law upon the point of minority, we hold to be perfectly clear. It is a plea available only to the defendant; no plaintiff can offer it as a supplementary ground of action. Thus, if any suit could be brought against Lord Byron, for the purpose of compelling him to put into court a certain quantity of poetry; and if judgment were given against him, it is highly probable that an exception would be taken, were he to deliver *for poetry*, the contents of this volume. To this he might plead *minority;* but as he now makes voluntary tender of the article, he hath no right to sue, on that ground, for the price in good current praise, should the goods be unmarketable. This is our view of the law on the point, and, we dare to say, so will it be ruled. Perhaps, however, in reality, all that he tells us about his youth, is rather with a view to increase our wonder, than to soften our censures. He possibly means to say, 'See how a minor can write! This poem was actually composed by a young man of eighteen, and this by one of only sixteen!'—But, alas, we all remember the poetry of Cowley at ten, and Pope at twelve; and so far from hearing, with any degree of surprise, that very poor verses were written by a youth from his leaving school to his leaving college, inclusive, we really believe this to be the most common of all occurrences; that it happens in the life of nine men in ten who are educated in England; and that the tenth man writes better verse than Lord Byron.

His other plea of privilege, our author rather brings forward in order to wave it. He certainly, however, does allude frequently to his family and ancestors—sometimes in poetry, sometimes in notes; and while giving up his claim on the score of rank, he takes care to remember us of Dr Johnson's saying, that when a

nobleman appears as an author, his merit should be handsomely acknowledged. In truth, it is this consideration only, that induces us to give Lord Byron's poems a place in our review, beside our desire to counsel him, that he do forthwith abandon poetry, and turn his talents, which are considerable, and his opportunities, which are great, to better account.

With this view, we must beg leave seriously to assure him, that the mere rhyming of the final syllable, even when accompanied by the presence of a certain number of feet,—nay, although (which does not always happen) those feet should scan regularly, and have been all counted accurately upon the fingers,—is not the whole art of poetry. We would entreat him to believe, that a certain portion of liveliness, somewhat of fancy, is necessary to constitute a poem; and that a poem in the present day, to be read, must contain at least one thought, either in a little degree different from the ideas of former writers, or differently expressed. We put it to his candour, whether there is any thing so deserving the name of poetry in verses like the following, written in 1806, and whether, if a youth of eighteen could say any thing so uninteresting to his ancestors, a youth of nineteen should publish it.

'Shades of heroes, farewell! your descendant, departing
From the seat of his ancestors, bids you, adieu!
Abroad, or at home, your remembrance imparting
New courage, he'll think upon glory, and you.
Though a tear dim his eye, at this sad separation,
'Tis nature, not fear, that excites his regret:
Far distant he goes, with the same emulation;
The fame of his fathers he ne'er can forget.
That fame, and that memory, still will he cherish,
He vows that he ne'er will disgrace your renown;
Like you will he live, or like you will he perish;
When decay'd, may he mingle his dust with your own.' p. 3.

Now we positively do assert, that there is nothing better than these stanzas in the whole compass of the noble minor's volume.

Lord Byron should also have a care of attempting what the greatest poets have done before him, for comparisons (as he must have had occasion to see at his writing-master's) are odious.—Gray's Ode on Eton College, should really have kept out the ten hobbling stanzas 'on a distant view of the village and school of Harrow.'

'Where fancy, yet, joys to retrace the resemblance
Of comrades, in friendship and mischief allied;
How welcome to me, your ne'er fading remembrance,
Which rests in the bosom, though hope is deny'd!' p. 4.

In like manner the exquisite lines of Mr Rogers, '*On a Tear*,' might have warned the noble author of those premises, and spared us a whole dozen such stanzas as the following.

'Mild Charity's glow,
To us mortals below,
Shows the soul from barbarity clear;
Compassion will melt,
Where this virtue is felt,
And its dew is diffus'd in a Tear.

The man doom'd to sail,
With the blast of the gale,
Through billows Atlantic to steer,
As he bends o'er the wave,
Which may soon be his grave,
The green sparkles bright with a Tear.'—p. 11.

And so of instances in which former poets had failed. Thus, we do not think Lord Byron was made for translating, during his non-age, Adrian's Address to his Soul, when Pope succeeded so indifferently in the attempt. If our readers, however, are of another opinion, they may look at it.

'Ah! gentle, fleeting, wav'ring sprite,
Friend and associate of this clay!
To what unknown region borne,
Wilt thou now wing thy distant flight?
No more, with wonted humour gay,
But pallid, cheerless, and forlorn.'—p. 72.

However, be this as it may, we fear his translations and imitations are great favourites with Lord Byron. We have them of all kinds, from Anacreon to Ossian; and, viewing them as school exercises, they may pass. Only, why print them after they have had their day and served their turn? And why call the thing in p. 79. a translation, where *two* words (ψιλὸ λιγεῖν) of the original are expanded into four lines, and the other thing in p. 81, where μισσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὁ ἔρως, is rendered by means of six hobbling verses? —As to his Ossianic poesy, we are not very good judges, being, in truth, so moderately skilled in that species of composition, that we should, in all probability, be criticizing some bit of the genuine Macpherson itself, were we to express our opinion of Lord Byron's rhapsodies. *If*, then, the following beginning of a 'Song of bards,' is by his Lordship, we venture to object to it, as far as we can comprehend it. 'What form rises on the roar of clouds, whose dark ghost gleams on the red stream of tempests? His voice rolls on the thunder; 'tis Orla, the brown chief of Otihona. He was,' &c. After detaining this 'brown chief' some time, the bards conclude by giving him their advice to

'raise his fair locks;' then to 'spread them on the arch of the rainbow;' and to 'smile through the tears of the storm.' Of this kind of thing there are no less than *nine* pages; and we can so far venture an opinion in their favour, that they look very like Macpherson; and we are positive they are pretty nearly as stupid and tiresome.

It is a sort of privilege of poets to be egotists; but they should 'use it as not abusing it;' and particularly one who piques himself (though indeed at the ripe age of nineteen), of being 'an infant bard'—(The artless Helicon I boast is youth')—should either not know, or should seem not to know, so much about his own ancestry. Besides a poem above cited on the family seat of the Byrons, we have another of eleven pages on the self-same subject, introduced with an apology, 'he certainly had no intention of inserting it;' but really, 'the particular request of some friends,' &c. &c. It concludes with five stanzas on himself, 'the last and youngest of a noble line.' There is a good deal also about his maternal ancestors, in a poem on Lachin-y-gair, a mountain where he spent part of his youth, and might have learnt that *pibroch* is not a bagpipe, any more than duet means a fiddle.

As the author has dedicated so large a part of his volume to immortalize his employments at school and college, we cannot possibly dismiss it without presenting the reader with a specimen of these ingenious effusions. In an ode with a Greek motto, called Granta, we have the following magnificent stanzas.

'There, in apartments small and damp,
The candidate for college prizes
Sits poring by the midnight lamp,
Goes late to bed, yet early rises.

Who reads false quantities in Sele,
Or puzzle's o'er the deep triangle;
Depriv'd of many a wholesome meal,
In barbarous Latin doom'd to wrangle.

Renouncing every pleasing page,
From authors of historic use;
Preferring to the lettered sage,
The square of the hypothenuse.

Still harmless are these occupations,
That hurt none but the hapless student,
Compar'd with other recreations
Which bring together the imprudent.'

p. 123, 124, 125.

We are sorry to hear so bad an account of the college psalmody as is contained in the following Attic stanzas.

'Our choir would scarcely be excus'd,
Even as a band of raw beginners;
All mercy, now, must be refus'd
To such a set of croaking sinners.

If David, when his toils were ended,
Had heard these blockheads sing before him,
To us, his psalms had ne'er descended,
In furious mood he would have tore 'em.' p. 126, 127.

But whatever judgment may be passed on the poems of this noble minor, it seems we must take them as we find them, and be content; for they are the last we shall ever have from him. He is at best, he says, but an intruder into the groves of Parnassus; he never lived in a garret, like thorough-bred poets; and 'though he once roved a careless mountaineer in the Highlands of Scotland,' he has not of late enjoyed this advantage. Moreover, he expects no profit from his publication; and whether it succeeds or not, 'it is highly improbable, from his situation and pursuits hereafter,' that he should again condescend to become an author. Therefore, let us take what we get and be thankful. What right have we poor devils to be nice? We are well off to have got so much from a man of this Lord's station, who does not live in a garret, but 'has the sway' of Newstead Abbey. Again, we say, let us be thankful; and, with honest Sancho, bid God bless the giver, nor look the gift horse in the mouth.

ART. III. *Some Account of the Public Life, and a Selection from the unpublished Writings of the Earl of Macartney; the latter consisting of Extracts from an Account of the Russian Empire, a Sketch of the Political History of Ireland, and a Journal of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; with an Appendix to each Volume.* By JOHN BARROW, F. R. S. *Author of Travels in China*, &c. &c. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1150. Cadell & Davies. London, 1807.

WE have frequently had occasion to commend the abilities and industry of Mr Barrow; and the last time he came before us, we gave him a hint about writing fewer quartos. This advice, however, seems very little to his liking; and, indeed, he could not easily have taken a better way of showing how determined he was to reject it, than by coming down upon the public with a huge life of Lord Macartney. The private character of this nobleman was no doubt highly respectable; and his conduct, in several situations of no great consequence, as well as in

the important government of Madras, entitled him to the praise of a zealous and faithful servant of the public. He was by no means deficient in the ordinary talents which fit men for such employments; and by these, together with his diligent pursuit of place under all administrations, he raised himself, by regular steps, from the station of a private gentleman, to the proud eminence of the Peerage, the Bath and the Privy Council, where he shines upon Mr Barrow with a splendour that almost dazzles his eyes out. But, notwithstanding all this overpowering greatness, we really do think that his biography might have been comprised within less than four hundred quarto pages, and that a more rigorous selection might have been used in making the world acquainted with his state papers and literary compositions. Even if a certain mass of pages were wanting, why could not our author have published some of his Lordship's private correspondence with the many eminent men of his time, whom he seems to have known very intimately? The mere public life of this lord, is not a great deal more important than that of almost any other hero of the Court Calendar. Yet we must have a detail of every particular connected with it, considerably more minute than the narrative of Charles V.'s reign. There is really something so preposterous in this, that we wonder how it could have failed to strike even Mr Barrow, with all his profound veneration for his deceased patron, and his disposition to magnify his book as well as his subject.

The first of these ample volumes consists entirely of this history, by Mr Barrow, and an appendix of numerous despatches and other such documents illustrating the narrative. It is to be observed, however, that if any person shall so far interest himself in Lord Macartney, as to examine scrupulously the merits of his different disputes with his colleagues in the Madras government, and with the Calcutta presidency (to which the appendix chiefly refers), he will find very little here to assist his inquiries. Mr Barrow's statements are altogether *ex parte*; and while he loads us with his own panegyrics of Lord Macartney's every word and action, and produces all the noble governor's long defences of his conduct on disputed points, he scarcely mentions the reasonings of his opponents, and suppresses almost every document in which they were explained by themselves. In truth, like most biographers of persons recently deceased, Mr Barrow is not the historian, but the eulogist of his patron. Take his account of the matter, and Lord Macartney was a faultless mortal. Not a word escapes him, through the whole narrative, that can lead to a suspicion of his having had one frailty or imperfection, except in an instance which we shall afterwards notice; and there the trait

is given with the avowed intention of doing him great honour. Although, however, we are pretty sure that no such perfect character ever existed, we admit that much of Lord Macartney's public conduct was highly praiseworthy; and as he is allowed, on all hands, to have been an uncorrupted British governor in the East Indies, we shall bestow upon his history a degree of attention, proportioned rather to the singularity of such a character, than to the importance of any other quality in which he could be said to excel.

George Macartney was the son of an Irish gentleman of respectable fortune, and was born at Lissanoure in the year 1737. As Dr Johnson pronounces it a kind of fraud, not to mention who the tutor was of a man of 'distinguished talents,' Mr Barrow commemorates, as the preceptor of his hero, a certain Dennis, an Irish parson, in whose house he lived for some years, and had access (of which he freely availed himself) to a library of books upon heraldry and genealogy. The prevailing bias of great minds may frequently be traced to some accidental circumstance in early life; and we presume, that Mr Barrow will thank us for suggesting, as a speculation worthy of his attention, whether Lord Macartney may not have derived from his early acquaintance with Clarencieux and Rouge Dragon, that propensity to titles, and unshaken love of the court and every thing about it, which constantly formed so conspicuous a part of his character through life. After taking a degree of Master of Arts at Trinity College, Dublin, he came over to London, and entered at the Temple, where he formed an intimate acquaintance with Burke, Dodwell and other eminent men. Having no intention, however, of studying the law, he soon went abroad, 'to collect,' says Mr Barrow, 'whatever information was to be procured as to the physical strength and the resources of the several states of the Continent, and the character and politics of their respective courts;' in short, he made the grand tour; was much charmed with Switzerland, being himself of a poetical and musical turn; and saw Voltaire at Ferney, with whose society he was 'greatly delighted.' He also made the acquaintance of the late Lord Holland, through whose interest he was, soon after his return, appointed envoy to the court of St Petersburgh (which Mr Barrow will always call *Petersbourg*), and instructed to bring about, if possible, a renewal of the commercial treaty. This was certainly a creditable mission for so young a man (he was then only 27); and the more so, that he was appointed at a moment when, from the recent change in the government, and the elevation of Catherine to the throne, the councils of Russia were observed by other nations with peculiar anxiety. The manner in which he acquitted himself, is just one of the disputed points that Mr Barrow takes all his own way, and, with the

XUM

candour of modern biographers, leaves us to decide upon a statement of his patron's defence, without any detail of the accusation. At first, no doubt, every thing went on well. Sir George (for he was knighted upon his appointment) made a speech to the Empress on his presentation, which was greatly admired by the court, and which Mr Fox and Mr Burke were good-natured enough to praise for its uncommon neatness; purporting, that she had all sorts of perfection, and reigned over half the world. He then ingratiated himself, very sedulously, with Mr Panin, the prime minister, and began to propose the treaty. Panin expounded his own views for the extension and improvement of the Russian Empire; the principal of which were a confederacy in the North, founded upon the ruin of the French interest in Sweden, and a war with Turkey. He proposed that England should accede to both these objects; and especially, that she should furnish money to bribe the Swedish Diet; in return for which, a strict alliance with Russia, and a treaty of commerce, were very much at her service. Upon both of these points, the Russian cabinet was firmly resolved that England should accede to their views; that she should both pay for the intrigues at Stockholm, and allow a Turkish war to be a *casus fœderis*. Sir George saw many objections to the first: but the expense of the thing, evidently the only consideration worth noticing in an economical view, never struck him. He details in a despatch, quoted by Mr Barrow we presume for its political acumen, how, by spending money in Sweden, we should raise the price of her commodities, and thus perpetually injure her own commerce. Nevertheless, so great was his abhorrence of French influence, fortified, says his biographer, by the dislike of Frenchmen which he had acquired on his travels, and which never left him through life, that he prevailed on his employers to send money from time to time for the purpose of bribing the Diet; and, though no precise statement is given of his negotiations upon the other point, it is abundantly obvious, that Russia did not yield it, because a despatch is printed in the appendix, written just before his departure, and repeatedly alluding to the Turkish clause as a difficulty remaining for his successors. By such means, a commercial treaty was, after much discussion, agreed upon; and Sir George, who speaks of it in terms of extravagant praise, and indeed, lauds his whole conduct almost as profusely as if he were writing the life of a friend, overjoyed at having brought about so great an affair, proceeded instantly, and without any instructions, to sign it. Partly on this account, and partly because an article was inserted, reserving to Russia the power of making regulations for the encouragement of her trade and navigation, '*en reciprocité de l'acte de Navigation de la Grande*

Bretagne,' the English ministry highly disapproved of Sir George's conduct, and refused to ratify the treaty. With some difficulty an alteration of the exceptionable clause was obtained. Our cabinet required, that the Russian commissioners should receive new full powers: but Sir George said, that he found this 'as impossible as it would be to heave Pelion upon Ossa;' and he once more risked 'his own safety for the public service,' by signing the amended treaty without Instructions. Whether it was, however, that a change had happened in the Foreign office, or that our ministers did not like to have so *signing* an envoy, the ratification was sent, and at the same time another gentleman was appointed ambassador at Petersburgh. Some despatches complaining of this, and of the other treatment he had received, are printed by Mr Barrow. They are very long, very plaintive, and very full of his own importance and praise. He is 'conscious of having acted in all things entrusted to his care, with the utmost integrity, vigilance and activity, having exerted every talent which nature and education have given him, for the service of his sovereign and the interest of the public;' he is also 'convinced of being able to prove, that no man in his situation could have obtained what he has done.' He intimates, that it is generally believed at Petersburgh, that he will not be permitted to depart, so great is his credit there! but this he prays God earnestly to forbid; and, notwithstanding all this, and a great deal more, he is very angry at any one thinking him dissatisfied. Quite the contrary: he is, like Sir Fretful Plagiary, rather extremely well pleased. (I. 422.) It is amusing enough, to see Mr Barrow eagerly publishing these and other compositions, which he seems to consider as highly creditable to Sir George's powers of composition. It is no doubt most wretched taste to talk in official despatches of Pelion and Ossa; to compare the Navigation-act to the bow of Ulysses; or to say, that something is as difficult, as 'counting the billows of the Baltic, or numbering the trees in the forest of Onega.' But surely it is somewhat more absurd to admire these passages, when written by another, and force them into a narrative as proofs of his eloquence and fancy.

Upon leaving Russia, Sir George returned to England; and, as the gentleman who had been appointed to succeed him declined the employment, Sir George was named as ambassador; but, for some reasons which do not appear, he resigned the appointment almost immediately, and very properly gave up at the same time the warrants for plate, equipage, money, &c. which he had got, 'receiving' (says his biographer) 'no advantage of any kind from his appointment, except their Majesties' picture, which he particularly desired he might be allowed to keep,—act-

XUM

ting thus an example of disinterestedness, perhaps the only one of the kind in the diplomatic history of this country.' So judicious a personage could not fail of pleasing the courtly; and accordingly he was soon after made happy by the hand of Lord Bute's daughter, a seat both in the English and Irish parliament, and the office of chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. His official conduct in this situation, forms the second era of Mr Barrow's narrative, and is, as usual, altogether perfect. The administration of Lord Townsend, in which he bore so active a share, was distinguished by the very beneficial change then effected in the Irish government, of obliging the Lord Lieutenant to reside, and freeing the country from the dominion of Lords Justices. It is needless to add, that the period was a turbulent and factious one; and the ministers seem to have been fully satisfied with Sir George Macartney's management of the House of Commons. Of his oratory in that assembly, Mr Barrow gives several specimens, which certainly do not prove him to have excelled. We are told, indeed, that he was one of the few who could keep Mr Flood in order 'by his manly and spirited retorts;' and of these a sample is given, which Mr Barrow is wonderfully delighted with. Mr Flood had made some allusion to the order of the White Eagle, and its *blueish* riband, which Sir George had received from the King of Poland, and used of course to wear; and the 'spirited reply' consisted merely in saying, at great length, that the 'extraordinary proofs of distinction which adorn his person,' are 'badges of honour, not of shame and disgrace.' He, perhaps, showed only his usual prudence, in confining his speeches, much as his biographer admires them, to the Irish senate. In both the Houses of this country, he observed a constant silence; and seems to have discovered here, that 'if more attention were paid to business, and less to speaking, the country would be no sufferer though we should have fewer fine speeches.'

Upon his return from Ireland, he was made a knight of the Bath, and Governor of Toome Castle, worth 1800*l.* a year; but well merited by his disinterested conduct in giving up a larger sinecure to accommodate the Lord Lieutenant during his administration. Mr Barrow, indeed, is never satisfied, and complains of this as a scanty reward for such services as Sir George's. But he was soon after made Governor of Grenada, and an Irish Peer. When he reached the island, he found it distracted with religious animosities; and we heartily wish that certain governors would attend to the example which he set in checking and composing these pernicious differences wherever they are to be found. The two parties were Scotch protestants and French papists; and to

such a height had their feuds proceeded, though the enemy was at the gates, that the former being the most rancorous, had actually resolved to demolish all the Catholic churches. Lord Macartney, far from taking part with these wretched bigots, these slave-drivers, who presumed to persecute men for points of doctrine, immediately set about restoring harmony, by his firm and just, yet conciliatory behaviour to all parties; and in a short time succeeded so well, that no distinction of sect, or faction, or even nation, remained, to interrupt the gallant efforts which the island made against the French invasion in 1779. Let the rulers of a certain larger island, menaced with attack from the same quarter, and torn in pieces by religious differences, deign to take example by this Governor of Grenada. *He* was no patriot; he heartily despised every thing romantic and speculative; he cared nothing for rights, except perhaps the privileges of the peerage, and valued the people according to their various ranks and quarterings. He was as complete a courtier as any of the ministers to whom we allude. Bred up in office, and running the regular course of promotion like themselves, he was, in fact, made of the very same stuff, with only a little more sense and discretion: he is, therefore, a fair example to hold up for their regard; and they may follow it without any fear of deviating into enlarged, or liberal, or uncommonly enlightened views.

Notwithstanding the greatest efforts of spirit and loyalty on the part of the inhabitants as well as the military, and a disposition of the force, apparently very judicious, they were compelled to yield to immense superiority of numbers, and could not even obtain a capitulation. Count d'Estaing behaved with great harshness, and allowed his men to plunder freely. Lord Macartney lost his plate and other property, with all his papers, and was carried a prisoner to France. He was soon released; and, on his return to England, was employed on a confidential and secret service in Ireland; after which he went into Parliament, as was his constant practice, during the short intervals of his official employments. He was thus always in sight, and in the way, and was able occasionally to render little services to the party he belonged to; that is to say, the ministry for the time being. This, indeed, was his golden rule—the corner-stone of his political system. We should have discovered it merely from the dates of his various appointments and promotions; from seeing that one ministry knighted and sent him to Russia, and another gave him the red riband and a sinecure, and employed him in Ireland; that from their successors he got an Irish peerage and two governments; while a subsequent cabinet, lasting a most auspicious length of time, showered down upon this happy courtling, two embassies,

XUM

as many governments, two pensions, two Irish titles, and a British peerage. But his judicious biographer, afraid lest he should fail to note what he reckons one of the brightest points in his character, has called our attention to it in some passages like the following, expressive of his own, as well as his patron's just abhorrence of every thing that can be construed into opposition or independence. It is occasioned by the narrative of Lord Macartney having met with the only refusal which he ever experienced in his career of ministerial favour.

'Notwithstanding the treatment which Lord Macartney had experienced from administration was not exactly such as he conceived he had a right to expect, notwithstanding the number of respectable friends which he had among the leaders of opposition, he never suffered any circumstance of disappointment to betray the smallest degree of dissatisfaction, much less to incline him towards any sort of hostility to, or public disapprobation of, the measures of his Majesty's government. He was indeed of the most conciliating disposition; and however he might at times feel himself hurt by ill treatment, this made no difference in his conduct towards those who he had reason to believe were the cause of it. Through the whole course of his life, he felt the most loyal and dutiful attachment to the King, and omitted no opportunity of expressing his grateful sense of obligation to his Majesty, both in public and in private; and his attachment to the person of his Sovereign, added to the impression of the propriety of supporting the existing government, induced him to give to administration his constant and invariable suffrage, except indeed in one instance, where the public opinion was decidedly against the government: To a systematic opposition, he never gave a single vote in the whole course of his political life.' I. 336–7.

In consequence of such prudent and truly courtman-like principles, he was but a very short time unemployed after his return from the West Indies. A vacancy occurred in the government of Madras; and, through the influence of ministry, (though Mr Barrow must needs question this, at the time that he has clearly proved it by his narrative—see p. 69. to 79), he was appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed Sir Thomas Rumbold. He found the affairs of the Carnatic in a situation almost desperate; the country overrun by Hyder's troops; a scarcity, approaching to, and threatening famine, pressing upon the English settlement; disunion in the council; and, above all, a long continued system of the grossest and most complicated abuse in every department of the Company's service. The history of his government at Madras, is the best piece which we owe to Mr Barrow in this work, though, besides the tiresome repetition of panegyric, we wish he had also omitted the lame description of Hyder's invasion. It seems really to be the fate of bad writers to attempt

the subjects which the finest pens have consecrated. As soon as they resolve to be eloquent, it is odds that they hit upon the Queen of France, the age of chivalry, or the devastation of the Carnatic. It is not our intention to follow Mr Barrow through this part of his narrative, occupied as it is with transactions which are sufficiently known in the history of the times. The administration of Lord Macartney was certainly a very useful one to the country, and highly honourable to himself, from its unsullied integrity. We shall extract a passage illustrative of this, and presenting, at the same time, a lively picture of the abuses prevalent among our countrymen in those remote settlements.

'His rigid adherence to covenants, and his positive refusal of all presents from the first moment of his arrival in India, were matters so new to them, that they were totally at a loss to what motive they ought to be ascribed. At one time such conduct was imputed to his ignorance of the mode of governing the black people of India; at another it was suggested that his avarice might aim at something more than had yet been offered; and under the idea that, by increasing the bribe, the temptation to accept it would be strengthened in proportion, the usual lack of pagodas presented to a new governor was increased to two, with an apology from the nabob for having, in the first instance, offered to a man of his rank in life the sum only which was due to a commoner. The embarrassment into which the refusal of 80,000*l.* threw the whole Durbar, was extremely amusing to Lord Macartney. Another lure had been held out to him at a very early period of his government. According to a custom, which it seems is very common among those powers of India, who are said to be under the Company's protection, every governor, admiral, or commander in chief, who may happen to wear the insignia of any order of distinction or merit, is almost certain of being presented with a diamond star—he is given to understand that a plain silver badge in India would be considered as incompatible with his rank and station, and that he must therefore allow them to supply him with one more becoming his dignity—it is said to be "only a little *bctel* among friends." Of this ceremony some idea may be collected from Lord Macartney's account of it in a letter to a gentleman whom he had considered for some time as his friend.* "Before I conclude," says he, "I must tell you that yesterday his highness Wallau Jah, attended with all the royal family, gave a grand breakfast to Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Hector Munro, &c. and all the principal officers of the squadron. The latter were invited to be witnesses of his Highness's munificence to their admiral on account of his eminent services. The admiral arrived in his uniform, but soon retired into another apartment,

* 'Extract of a Letter from Lord Macartney to Mr Macpherson, dated Fort St George, July 26, 1782.'

"where he was untrussed, and then returned in a fine brocade coat "with a diamond star upon it that far outshone

'*the wealth of Ormus or of Ind.*'

"Charles Binney read aloud the nabob's compliment upon the occa- "sion, which was rechoed by Arthur Cuthbert, who, in his turn, "read the admiral's reply. The captains were sprinkled with rose- "water, bedewed with ottar, and had rings of flowers put round "their necks, but no other sort of rings or even shawls made their "appearance, which I hear the sea fish expected to have had a bite "at, and were not a little ruffled at the disappointment. *Entre nous,* "had I known it in time, I should have contrived to put the admiral "on his guard against such a ceremony, because some persons may "possibly make an ill use of it, and I really have a very great regard "for him. I must add a particular which Sir Hector Munro told me. "The admiral, it seems, had desired that the governor might be in- "vited to his breakfast, and both he and Sir Hector were assured it "should be so. To their great surprize he was not there; and upon "inquiry it was found that Paul's * preaching had prevailed against "theirs, and the governor was not invited—

'*Sic me servavit Apollo.*'

"For it would have embarrassed me confoundedly to have been asked, "as the act of Parliament speaks very strong language against this "same star; and there is not a raggamuffin here but may recover in "the mayor's court double the value of it. It was once thought that "no Knight of the Bath could resist the dazzle of one of these gew- "gaws; yet out of half a dozen brethren there is one, at least, who "has not been blinded by them. That lure, among others, was "thrown out, when still stronger was rejected, and was called *only* "*betel among friends;* but it was a kind of *betel* I was determined "neither to chew nor swallow; and I wish some of our friends had "been of the same way of thinking."' I. 245–6–7.

Of his virtue, as well as his various other good qualities, Lord Macartney appears on every occasion to be abundantly sensible. He, indeed, makes a parade of it, which is somewhat awkward, and would lead a captious person to suspect that he felt the full strength of the temptations thrown in his way. Nay, whether he is opposed or supported by his colleagues, and even when he is receiving the commendations of his employers, he must write long minutes and letters in his own favour. Mr Barrow has inserted part of a dissertation which he wrote in answer to the unanimous thanks of the Court of Directors. This extract fills above three quarto pages; and the ungracious purport of it is to blame other people, and to prove that he is himself still more worthy of praise than has been imagined; and that as to his 'zeal and activity' in the service, for which he has been thank-

* 'Paul Benfield, it is presumed, is the person here alluded to.'

ed, and 'to which he will add, his unexampled disinterestedness,' he has the testimony of his own heart, without which their applause would avail him little. Whatever we may think of the taste of all this, and much as the sacrifices may have cost him, the fact is undeniable, that Lord Macartney was a most virtuous and disinterested governor; and after four years spent in a station so lucrative to other men, retired with a clear saving of only 28,000*l.*

Mr Barrow enters at great length into the several disputes between the Madras and Calcutta Boards, respecting the appointments of General Coote and Mr Sullivan, the Northern Circars, and the assignment of the Carnatic. On these subjects his statements and documents are so partial, that no steady light whatever is thrown upon the several questions. But we wish particularly to point out for disapprobation his invectives against all who adventure the defence of any Indian prince. Mr Barrow is pleased to abuse in the mass all the native sovereigns who stand between the British Government and the people of India; to blame exceedingly the policy of *keeping up such puppets;* to trace from this as a necessary consequence, the impeachment of every governor who dares *to do his duty*, and displease the aforesaid puppets and their united supporters in England. He is therefore quite clear, that the Company should at once put an end to this inconvenient establishment, for the benefit of their own servants as well as of the natives, and more especially for the comfort of all governors and presidents. Suppose France were convulsed by the contending parties of different generals, and its provinces seized, some by officers claiming in right of Buonaparte, some by the lieutenants of the exiled prince. If, in this state of things, Austria were to interfere, and support one claimant of a province, and England were then to set up another with a better title, and to succeed in establishing him by her arms, Mr Barrow's view of the case is just this, that it is foolish to support such a puppet; and that Brittany or Normandy, or whatever the province is, should forthwith be occupied and treated as our own, and the puppet sent elsewhere, to make way for some red or blue riband from London. Indeed the illustration which he draws of his just and enlightened views, from the history of the Carnatic, is peculiarly unfortunate. Whether Mahomet Ali (better known as Wallah Jah) had a reversionary grant of the nabobship from the Soubahdar of the Deccan, or not, we found it for our interest to espouse his cause, when the French set up Chunda Saheb. We said not a word of this defect, or any other, in his title, at that time; nor did a whisper escape us respecting the constitutional authority of the court of Delhi. Indeed, says Mr Barrow, the Mogul's was 'a vacated dominion, which converted

occupancy into right.' Well; for our candidate Wallah Jah, we exerted our intrigues and our arms; we beat his, not our antagonist, supported as he was by our enemies; we then obtained a formal commission for him as nabob; we united to this the Dewamy: An assignment of the revenue, including of course the restoration of this last office, was obtained by Lord Macartney during Hyder's war, evidently meant to revert to the nabob at the peace. Of the fulfilling of this implied condition Mr Barrow bitterly complains; and he then is for us all at once discovering that our old candidate had no right at all; that he never had any title to the Misnud; that he was a mere puppet; and that the power which raised him should immediately, on finding him inconvenient, pull him down. He commits the constant error of such Indian politicians; and conceives that it is sufficient to vest a full right in England, if it be proved that some other conflicting title is defective. The Mogul's commission of nabob (if it is not mockery to speak of the tyrant's deeds) may not have made Wallah Jah also Dewan; but did this therefore make the 'English East India Company Behauder' the Dewan? The nabob may have had an indifferent title to the Carnatic originally; but does this give us, who made it effectual at least, though we may not have thought it good, a right to pick holes in it now, and, by belying our former assertions, to get into his place,—*us*, about whose utter want of title there can be no doubt? We are told, indeed, that former governors-general and presidents acted wrong, espoused the worst side, or blundered in other ways. It matters not; the deed is done, and the Company and England are bound by it, unless, indeed, by rescinding the act, justice shall be rendered to those whom we injured, not gain secured to ourselves. 'The governors and sirdars (said Hyder Ali) who enter into treaties, after one or two years return to Europe; and their acts and deeds become of no effect; and fresh governors and sirdars introduce new conversations:'—and it was for this reason that he refused to make peace with us. That Wallah Jah was desirous of disinheriting his eldest son Omdat in favour of Amur proves exactly nothing. The British governors might have refused to concur; but their disapprobation of his conduct in this, or indeed in any other particular, gave them no right to make themselves his heirs.

We have noticed these matters, from the obvious tendency, and indeed plain intention of Mr Barrow's statements, to reconcile the public to the treatment which Wallah Jah's successors have received, and to the whole conduct of our government in the East. Mr Barrow acts unworthily of Lord Macartney's pupil and eulogist, when he attempts to force the authority of that upright and prudent governor into the service

of those other men who have filled his place. It is evident that there is nothing done, either at Oude, Madras, Bassein, or elsewhere, which may not be vindicated on Mr Barrow's principle of nabobs and rajahs (of course he must include the peishwas) being either puppets or usurpers. It is equally evident, on the other hand, that, except in the single instance of his unwillingness to give up the assignment (for which many reasons may be urged), Lord Macartney's principles of Indian government were at complete variance with the practice of all the British satraps whose maladministration has brought our empire in the East to the brink of ruin, and injured our national character almost irreparably.

We pass over the accounts of Lord Macartney's various differences, chiefly with Mr Hastings and his council, and with the commanding officers at his own presidency. He had open quarrels with Generals Steuart and Burgoyne, and was considerably at variance with Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Eyre Coote. With his own council he kept on the best terms, excepting only Mr Sadlier, to whom he rather incautiously gave the lie one day at a Board. This led to a duel afterwards: and he likewise fought with General Steuart, on his return home. In both meetings he behaved like a man of high spirit, and was wounded. Mr Barrow's account of all these necessarily disputed and now very unimportant points, is of course partial; but we think we can clearly see through his statements, that Lord Macartney was generally in the right, and that his conduct was uniformly calculated to lead and gain by conciliatory means. That he should have incurred the bitter enmity of Paul Benfield, and the other swarms of his *caste*, was only natural: this fact has been indeed anticipated by our statement of his strenuous public virtue, and his hatred of all manner of abuses.

When the newly appointed Board of Controul sent out instructions to give up the Carnatic assignment, they also named a successor to Lord Macartney, who was resolved not to witness the execution of what he believed to be disastrous orders, and retired immediately to Calcutta. Here he almost lost his life in an attempt unworthy of his good sense, to introduce certain savings into the Asiatic mode of living.

'His Lordship's continuance at Calcutta was protracted by an illness that threatened his life. It was occasioned by a wish of setting an example in his own person, which he conceived might be attended with some degree of benefit to the inhabitants of the presidency. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the establishment of palankeens in Calcutta is not only attended with serious expense to many families who can but ill afford to bear it, but that every young strip-

ling, from the moment he sets his foot on shore, must have his palankeen and his eight bearers to dance attendance upon his person; and it often happens that the greater part of these poor creatures, if age and infirmity could plead for consideration, ought with more propriety to be carried by himself. Lord Macartney was sufficiently aware that the climate of Madras, from the regular sea breezes, admitted of the exercise of walking with less danger than that of the inland city of Calcutta. Still however he determined to make the experiment in the latter; but the consequences of much exposure to the sun, and the fatigue of walking, had nearly proved fatal.' I. 297—299.

'One night as he was sitting with a friend in Calcutta, an officer from one of the Company's ships brought him a despatch, addressed to him as governor-general of Bengal. He tore off the cover and cast it to his friend, who warmly congratulated him on an event so wholly unexpected: But Lord Macartney very calmly observed, before he had read the despatch, that he did not mean to accept the intended honour. He did not however immediately communicate this intention to the provisional governor-general, who is said to have felt himself in a very awkward situation; and all the legal authorities in Calcutta are supposed to have been consulted, whether Lord Macartney, appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed Mr Hastings, could legally step into the chair occupied by Mr Macpherson. The anxiety of the Supreme Council to keep their appointments could not fail greatly to amuse Lord Macartney, who had no desire to deprive any of them of their situations.' I. 300, 301.

The history of this unexpected appointment is then given by Mr Barrow. It seems poor Lord Macartney had had the misfortune to be greatly praised in the debate on the India bill, by Mr Fox and his friends, for his upright and obedient conduct; and this begat a very natural prejudice against him in the minds of Mr Dundas and other such enlightened statesmen. Certain representations sent home against him from India, (probably from Mr Paul Benfield), strengthened this prepossession; but it was effaced, says Mr Barrow, as soon as Mr Dundas had carefully and attentively gone through all the papers connected with these affairs. We presume he was during this study pretty *carefully* informed of his mistake in supposing Lord Macartney to be politically attached to Mr Fox, or indeed to any extra-official character, and that Mr Fox had no intention of sending him to India, should his plan be adopted. Indeed, we are entitled to infer this from our author's attentive insertion of the circumstance, as part of Lord Macartney's defence against the prejudices created by Mr Fox's praise of his hero. This appointment, however, he declined accepting, partly on account of his health, and partly because, without reform in various parts of the Bengal system, and changes in the Calcutta Board, he could not hope to execute

the office comfortably or usefully. He accordingly returned to England, and arrived early in 1786. He laid before the Chair (as the phrase is) his propositions,—the conditions on which he was willing to undertake the Government. These were, an increased power to the first in council; the subordination of the Commander-in-chief; a change in the members of the Board, and particularly General Hope's and Mr Macpherson's removal. The Ministry having consulted on these points, fixed a day to confer with him.

In the mean time, a debate took place, in which Mr Fox once more loaded his Madras administration with ample praises; but as the other party now knew their man, and as indeed he was on the spot, to counteract the bad effects of such encomiums, by such positive assurances and explanations as might be required, they seem to have passed over his head this time without doing him any material injury. Accordingly, the ministers informed him at their meeting, that they agreed to his first proposition, of allowing the Governor-General to act upon his single responsibility, on great occasions; but as to the other points, they either wholly declined touching them, or waved the discussion for the present. They, however, expressed great good-will towards Lord Macartney, and repeated their offer of the place. Upon this his Lordship seems to have been fully satisfied with the fate of his former propositions; but he had in the mean time discovered a new one. He had found that he should have many enemies, and all active against his power; that it 'would be necessary for his own reputation, and for the public service, that he should *receive such a distinguished mark of favour*, as would *unequivocally* show to the world,' how high he stood with 'the *Crown*, the Ministry, and the Company.' He disclaimed all idea of starting difficulties, or 'making what is called terms or bargains;' he was not 'that sort of man;' but he had hoped they would have anticipated his ideas on this point. He added, 'that the distinguished mark to 'which he alluded, he had long looked to as an object of honest 'ambition, and had therefore preferred distant, laborious, and 'troublesome employments abroad, as more likely, from the op-'portunities they might afford for distinguished exertions, to lead 'him to it, than the usual routine of the boards and parliamentary 'offices at home; he observed, that he had passed twenty-two years 'of his life in public business of that kind, and hoped it was not 'unreasonable to aspire to the king's favour, as a reward for past 'service, and an encouragement to future.' (I. 325, 326.) He proceeded, of course, to disavow all eagerness after the office,—talked much of his health and the difficulties of the station,—and descanted after an edifying manner on his indifference to wealth,

and his love of tranquillity, and taste for domestic pursuits,—and the other established topics upon such occasions. When he had made an ending, he perceived, by the usual symptoms, that the minister had every desire to oblige him, 'but laboured under some difficulty in assenting to his views.' He accordingly began his retreat, and accomplished it like a skilful tactician, in very good order, under a fire of compliments to whomsoever they might appoint instead of him, and of protestations that he had not 'the slightest disinclination to the ministry as it then stood;' but would support them at all times, 'consistent and agreeable with those principles which, through the whole course of his life, had uniformly guided him.' Nay, so perfectly regular and courtier-like were his whole proceedings, that, three days after this interview, when he heard of Lord Cornwallis being appointed, he went to a large evening party where Lady Macartney was; and, being unable to get near her, 'took out a card and wrote with his pencil upon the back of it as follows. "*I am the happiest man in England at this hour. Lord Cornwallis, I hear, is Governor-General of India.*"—'The card,' says Mr Barrow, 'is still in her Ladyship's possession, with the pencil-writing upon it;'—'and what better proof can any man have of his Lordship having exulted in losing at once the government and the *extra* mark of favour which he had demanded?' As such, our author views it; and he adds, that this 'mark of favour to which Lord Macartney conceived himself entitled, even independent of public considerations, was a British Peerage; but he would not have asked it on any other grounds than the fullest conviction in his own mind'—and so forth.—We have thus minutely given the details of this curious negotiation, because it affords a very pattern of the manner in which all such matters are carried on. It is indeed perfect in all its parts; and from beginning to end, we will venture to say, it does not contain one step which is not gone through every day, in some of the ministerial closets of all well regulated governments. The narrative and remarks of Mr Barrow, furnish also a correct view of the manner in which such affairs are afterwards represented by the losing party and his friends. Upon the whole, the piece is highly instructive and amusing, and cannot fail to recall various parallel instances to almost every reader, whether in great or in little life.

Unhappily the glories of this eminent courtier, were now doomed to undergo an eclipse. As soon as he awoke from that delirium of joy into which his own failure and Lord Cornwallis's appointment had thrown him, he found himself, for the first time, neglected by 'his Majesty's person and government.' He was no longer 'the happiest man alive.' It is painful to read

the faithful Mr Barrow's wailings on this sad interruption to his official career. Notwithstanding this favourable opinion expressed by ministers; notwithstanding his long and meritorious services; nay, adds he, with some *naïveté*, (and it is far more wonderful), 'notwithstanding a steady and uniform attachment to his Majesty's person and government, Lord Macartney had the mortification of experiencing the neglect and inattention of government.' We learn, after a long description of what he merited, that the cause of this neglect was '*Dis aliter visum est.*' The gods, however, we find immediately after, allowed him a pension of 1500*l.* a year, through the East India Company, of which 'very scanty recompense' and 'parsimony,' says Mr Barrow, he did not complain. There was also some other cause than the gods, if we may believe the anecdote told immediately after, viz. that Mr Pitt sent him a message, 'desiring to know if he found himself inclined to accept of office;' to which he answered, that certainly he did, but not a seat at the India Board; and he heard no more about the matter, but was suffered to cultivate his estate in the north of Ireland for five long years.

At length, in the fulness of time, it was resolved to send an ambassador to the Emperor of China, in order to establish a closer connexion with that monarch, and obtain a more extensive traffic with his subjects; or, at all events, give them a high idea of our national character and magnificence. Whatever the partial biographer may say to the contrary, this was a post of little more than mere *faste*, and its duties were confined almost solely to representation. It was indeed a sad falling off from the government of the East; but whether it be that seclusion from the sunshine of court favour had rendered him tractable, or, as Mr Barrow asserts, 'that he had laid down a rule never to refuse any public employment wherein he might be useful,' certain it is, that he accepted the appointment of ambassador to Pekin 'without the least hesitation;' and, wise from experience, made no other condition this time, than that he should chuse his own suite. The ministry, on their parts, were abundantly liberal, and besides servants, guards, secretaries, &c. allowed him 15000*l.* a year of salary, 'on the ground, that his Lordship should not be permitted to double the Cape at an inferior salary to what he had formerly enjoyed in those regions.' Before he set sail, they also gratified him with a privy councillor's place, and raised him to the dignity of an Irish Viscount.

In this embassy he was engaged about two years, of which only a few weeks, as is well known, were spent in China. In almost all its main objects, the undertaking failed entirely: but certain indirect and subordinate advantages were no doubt gained by

it. Of these, the knowledge which we have procured of the Chinese empire cannot strictly be reckoned as one;—as it certainly was not in Mr Dundas's contemplation to spend money in the promotion of science and literature; but happily, though the more statesman-like point of an augmented traffic in hysons and boheas was not accomplished, a multitude of valuable lights were obtained, for which the philosopher is accidentally indebted to a quarter, of all others the least likely to assist his views. Upon Lord Macartney's return in 1794, he was highly delighted to find that he had grown an Irish earl in his absence:—and the year after, he was sent to Italy on 'an important mission, of a delicate and confidential nature,' which Mr Barrow will by no means tell us any thing more about. If common report may be credited, this service formed a whimsical contrast to the last on which he had been employed. It is generally believed, that after being sent ambassador to the sovereign of by far the greatest resources in this globe, who rules over nearly half its inhabitants, his Lordship was despatched upon an errand to a prince possessed of neither territory, subjects, nor revenue. Having found out the court to which he had been sent, and delivered his message to 'the entire satisfaction of his Majesty's ministers,' he returned to England; and, joyful to relate, was at length made a British Peer.

In 1797, he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope as governor; and, as he was not to double that promontory, his salary, on this occasion, was only 10,000*l.*, with 2000*l.* additional, as a pension for life. He acquitted himself to the admiration of all, particularly Mr Barrow; gave up his salary as soon as he resigned his office; and, upon leaving the colony, made oath before the Fiscal Mynheer Van Rynevelt, that he never had received any presents, except a little fruit, wine, venison, and other trifles, which may possibly excite the pity of some few of his Lordship's patrons, as we dare say it did of the Dutchman; but which offers to our view an example above all praise, of a regular place-hunter, by no means wealthy, remaining in the last act of a life devoted to his profession, altogether uncorrupted by half a century spent amidst the bribery of senates, the tricks of embassies, and the plunder of the East.

He returned to England early in 1799, resolved to give up all further concern with the bustle and fatigues of public life. To this resolution he even adhered, when Mr Pitt, 'finding it expedient to place Mr Addington at the head of a new administration,' judged that Lord Macartney was made of the very materials which he wanted; and 'strongly urged him to take the Presidency of the Board of Coutroul, with a seat in the Cabinet.' Mr Barrow further insinuates, that he had a dislike to the new

ministry; but, that any such feeling should operate with him, no man who has heard of the construction of that cabinet, and attended to the foregoing account of Lord Macartney's political life, can for one moment believe. However, the rest of his days were spent in elegant retirement, and in the society of his friends. His infirmities increased upon him; he was deeply affected by the misfortunes on the Continent in 1805, and by Mr Pitt's death: after which, his friends despaired of his recovery. It is to be presumed also, though Mr Barrow has omitted this cause of illness, that the fate of another minister, some months before, must have sensibly distressed a man of Lord Macartney's high feelings and pure conduct in money matters—the more especially as with that personage he had been peculiarly connected for several years. In March 1806, he died full of years and titles,—covered with honours and badges; and, what few statesmen, and still fewer courtiers can boast of, equally beloved by his friends, and respected by his official connexions; having given offence to none, but such as were put to shame by the contrast of his integrity, or resented the measures of his justice.

It is not for the purpose of qualifying this praise, that we must now pick out a portion of Mr Barrow's general summary of his character; but in order to vindicate his memory against the attacks of this most injudicious eulogist. 'He held the slave trade and slavery,' says our author, 'in utter abhorrence; but did not entertain those enthusiastic notions respecting the abolition of the latter, which have prevailed in this country for some few years past:' And then come some reasonings put into Lord Macartney's mouth against the emancipation of slaves; for this is the meaning of the passage, though Mr Barrow chuses to term it 'a hasty abolition.' He proceeds to say, that his Lordship 'was most decidedly against the continuance of the trade;' and resolved not to allow a single slave ship to enter the Cape colony during his government. We are told, therefore, in his praise, that he was a decided friend of the abolition; and then comes a case of exception, wherein he was induced, by the urgent entreaties of the colonists, to license one slave ship. This, to be sure, was wrong, whatever arguments of necessity might have been pretended. But what shall we say of an abolitionist writing, upon this occasion, a letter, and to *Mr Dundas* too, containing the following passage?

'The question was, whether in a state of actual necessity we were to listen most to the dictates of good sense and public duty, or to the whims and ravings of ignorance and fanaticism? It appeared to me an indispensable obligation rather to provide for the sustenance of the people committed to my care, and of his Majesty's fleet and army *in esse*, than to argue with myself what might be the possible felicity of

freedom to unknown blackamoors. I paid however such respect to the prejudices of the day, as to confine my license to a single ship, and shall be cautious in extending it till the proper authority shall have decided this point, which seems to have been at issue for some years past between rashness and experience, thoughtlessness and reflection, ancient wisdom and modern philosophy.' I. 389, 390.

Mr Barrow has thus brought on Lord Macartney the heavy charge of holding certain serious opinions on a most important subject, and yet concealing them; nay, adopting the very worst language of the opposite party, in a letter to the leader of that party. No man who understands the question, however, can read the passage to which we have referred, without perceiving that Mr Barrow, in his zeal to praise, and in his utter ignorance of the subject, (a hackneyed one surely), has mistated Lord Macartney's opinions. We will not believe him guilty of such mean duplicity. We are satisfied that he was not an abolitionist with regard to *the trade*;—that he was what is called a gradual abolitionist;—and that Mr Barrow has confounded this with his being a friend to gradual abolition *of slavery*, and to the immediate abolition of the trade. If his volumes ever see another edition, he should correct this, in justice to his patron's memory, which he has unwittingly aspersed.

The Second of these volumes is composed of several tracts from the pen of Lord Macartney; and the whole publication should, in our humble opinion, have been limited to the most interesting of them, with a short biographical sketch by the editor. The tracts are four in number, extracts from an account of the Russian empire; a sketch of the History of Ireland; his journal of the Chinese Embassy; and an appendix upon the state of China.

The account of Russia, though distinctly, and we presume very correctly, drawn up, has now lost the greater part of the interest which it may have had when it was written. That great empire is indeed so much changed since the accession of Catherine, that we can scarcely recognize, in an old sketch of it, the features by which it is known at present. Some of the traits, however, still remain; and among others, the character of the Russian nobles is much less improved than might have been expected, since the period of Lord Macartney's mission. The following passage is not without merit as a piece of composition; and, from its coming pretty near the mark even at present, we guess that it was a most accurate delineation when it was taken.

'The Russian gentlemen are certainly the least informed of all others in Europe; the chief point of their instruction is a knowledge of modern languages, particularly the French and German; both which they usually speak with very great facility, though incapable of writing either with precision or propriety. Those who can afford the expense, and indeed many who cannot afford it, complete their education by a

tour to France; where, ignorant and unprincipled as they are, they catch at every thing that feeds the fancy or inflames the passions; there they find ample fuel for both; they greedily devour all that is set before them without selection, and lose their delicacy of taste in enormity of appetite: To Frenchmen they become despicable Russians, to Russians despicable Frenchmen; to others equal objects of pity and contempt. So seldom do they derive advantage from those circumstances which form and accomplish the gentleman of other countries, that, instead of instruction or real improvement, they rarely acquire more than personal affectation and mental distortion, and, after all their travels, return home far inferior, in the virtues of a good citizen, to those who have never travelled at all.

'Their natural parts are tolerably good, but they universally want the discriminating faculty; whence they fall into the most absurd imitations of foreign life and manners, and, abandoning the common sense of nature, adopt fashions and customs totally contrary to their climate, and troublesome to themselves. Though freezing under the 60th degree of northern latitude, they build their houses like the airy palaces of Florence and Sienna. In France it is the etiquette of fashion to begin the spring season at Easter, and to mark it by dress; the imitative Russian does the same, and flings off his winter garments whilst the earth is covered with snow, and himself shivering with cold. It is the peculiar privilege of the noblesse at Paris to have Swiss porters at the gates of their hotels: at Petersburg a Russ gentleman of any fashion must have a Swiss also, or some tall fellow with a laced belt and hanger, which it seems are the indispensable accoutrements of a Parisian janitor. It would be an endless task to recite the follies and absurdities of this kind, which they every day fall into; but these few examples will, I presume, appear sufficient.' II. 35, 36, 37.

There is much good sense, too, in the author's criticism on Peter the Great; though, in defining the *discriminating faculty*, as he calls it, he falls into the worst taste. We presume he means by that expression, common sense, or sound practical understanding, as opposed to genius and fancy.

'This reign forms the grand era of that reformation which, though much more extensive than the preceding, is falsely believed to have totally changed and civilized the whole Russian nation. Peter, though endowed with strong natural abilities, and with wonderful talents, yet, like most Russians I have met with, he possessed not the discriminating faculty, that divine sagacity which explores the diamond in the mine, seizes its value, and at once decides, amidst various degrees of excellence, which is most excellent.

'To the want of this power are to be attributed all the imperfections which his plans were attended with: for, in the ardour of alteration and improvement, he indiscriminately adopted a thousand foreign customs and institutions, without regarding time, place, propriety, or circumstance: instead of forming his people upon origi-

XUM

nality, he moulded them into imitators, and injudiciously deprived them of their ancient character, without ascertaining the practicability of giving them a better.' II. 53.

The historical sketch of Ireland is general indeed, and for the most part void of details; but the subject is in itself far from interesting or important, until we come to the later periods; and these are very well handled by Lord Macartney, consistently with his object of only exhibiting an outline. We meet, no doubt, with frequent marks of his courtly and official prejudices; his respectful adherence to Poyning's law; his invariable and unqualified contempt for '*the Patriots:*' and his horror of all measures which, by exhausting the fixed, hereditary revenue, tended to secure the existence of parliaments. He seems, too, strangely inattentive to the very progress of the country and its constitution, which he is himself relating, when he forgets how impossible it was for any established revenue to have placed the Crown above the necessity of calling parliaments. The measures which he ascribes to the factious views of the Opposition, were exact counterparts of the struggles between the Commons and the Crown in England, a century and half before: and the political independence of Ireland, which was gradually growing up under his eyes with the growth of her resources, though he does not seem ever to have dreamt of it, was destined to attain maturity a few years afterwards, much more surely than the liberties of this country in 1688 flowed from the reigns of James I. and his successor. For one part of this tract, however, the noble author is entitled to almost unmingled praise. He describes in its true colours, the abominable system of persecution, embodied into law, in the various statutes against popery; and he delivers his sentiments at such length, and with such honest indignation against those odious acts, that though the greater part of them are now repealed, yet we should be afraid to follow him, or quote all his invectives, lest, peradventure, in this most protestant era, we should expose to risk, or at least be accused of disrespect to the 'wisdom of our ancestors.' Indeed, with the exception of a single qualifying clause in p. 118, the whole of Lord Macartney's dissertation on this topic classes him among the warmest antagonists of the present courtly doctrines. He wrote, it is true, before the Royal conscience had been disturbed by the jesuitical arts of intriguing hypocrites; yet do we marvel how his discreet biographer could venture, under the existing administration, to edite such passages as the following, with the debate on the Maynooth grant before his eyes. 'The laws of Ireland against papists are the harsh dictates of persecution, not the calm suggestions of reason and policy. They threaten the papists with penalties, in case of foreign education; and yet al-

low them no education at home. They shut the doors of their own university against them; and forbid them to enter any other. No man shall go to lecture, who will not go to church,' &c. The whole of the bitter invective against these wretched and wicked prejudices, from p. 115 to p. 123, is well worthy of attention, though, for the reason above given, we must decline extracting any more of it.

The journal of the Chinese embassy is however, in every point of view, the most interesting part of the present publication; and we lament exceedingly that the length which this article has already reached, must prevent us from giving our readers either a full account of its contents, or a sufficient specimen of it by copious extracts. It contains an ample but not tedious or over-minute narrative of each day's transactions and observations, in the course of a journey and residence, every hour of which presented something interesting and novel. We here get rid of Lord Macartney's heavy and artificial style of writing; and as he was taking notes for himself, not preparing despatches for an office, he is natural and easy, as well as perspicuous. Many additional lights are thrown upon the character of the Chinese, which, indeed, sinks in our estimation every step we approach to it. A variety of the most curious and authentic particulars are recorded of the state of the empire, its resources and institutions. The history of the embassy, and the progress of the negotiation, are detailed in a way calculated to give us still more accurate notions of the Chinese policy and manners. And what renders the general inference from the whole facts the more conclusive against this boasted people, we plainly perceive that the noble author went among them with the ordinary prejudices in favour of their virtue, wisdom, and happiness; and came away without experiencing in himself that complete cure of such notions, which the labours of his mission have done so much to effect in the literary world at large.

The following passage contains a specimen of the kind of trifles on which the Chinese exhaust their ingenuity as negociators.

'They then introduced the subject of the court ceremonies, with a degree of art, address and insinuation, that I could not avoid admiring. They began by turning the conversation upon the different modes of dress that prevailed among different nations; and, after pretending to examine ours particularly, seemed to prefer their own on account of its being loose and free from ligatures, and of its not impeding or obstructing the genuflexions and prostrations which were (they said) customary to be made by all persons, whenever the emperor appeared in public. They therefore apprehended much inconvenience to us from our knee-buckles and garters, and hinted to us that it would be better to disen-

cumber ourſelves of them, before we ſhould go to court. I told them, that they need not be uneaſy about that circumſtance, as I ſuppoſed whatever ceremonies were uſual for the Chineſe to perform, the emperor would prefer my paying him the ſame obeiſance which I did to my own ſovereign. They ſaid they ſuppoſed the ceremonies in both countries muſt be nearly alike; that in China the form was to kneel down upon both knees, and make nine proſtrations or inclinations of the head to the ground; and that it never had been and never could be diſpenſed with. I told them that ours was ſomewhat different, and that, though I had the moſt earneſt deſire to do every thing that might be agreeable to the emperor, my firſt duty muſt be to do what might be agreeable to my own king; but that, if they were really in earneſt in objecting to my following the etiquette of the Engliſh court, I ſhould deliver to them my reply in writing, as ſoon as I arrived at Pekin. They then talked of the length and dangers of our voyage, and ſaid that as we had come to ſuch a diſtance from home, our king would naturally be anxious for our return, and that the emperor did not mean to hunt this autumn as uſual, but to remove with his court very early to Pekin, on purpoſe that we might not be delayed. I told them that his Imperial Majeſty would judge from the King's letter, and from my repreſentations, what was expected from me at my return to England, and what time would be ſufficient to enable me to tranſact the buſineſs I was charged with, and to deſcribe to my ſovereign the glory and virtues of the emperor, the power and ſplendour of his empire, the wiſdom of his laws and moral inſtitutes, the fame of all which had already reached to the moſt diſtant regions.' II. 199—201.

Our ambaſſador, it appears, could enter *con amore* into ſimilar diſcuſſions of etiquette. About half of his diplomatic labour ſeems to have been employed in adjuſting the ceremonial, and obtaining, by his dexterity, good terms for his ſovereign in this important affair.

'Thurſday, Auguſt 29th. This day I put up the ſtate canopy and their Majeſty's pictures in the preſence chamber, and delivered my paper relative to the ceremonial, to be tranſmitted to Gehol. I had experienced a good deal of difficulty in perſuading Father Raux to get it tranſlated into Chineſe, and to put it into the proper diplomatic form, ſo much is every perſon here afraid of intermeddling in any ſtate matter without the ſpecial authority of government; and he only conſented, on condition, that neither his writing, nor that of his ſecretary ſhould appear, but that I ſhould get it copied by ſome other hand. Little Staunton was able to ſupply my wants on this occaſion; for, having very early in the voyage begun to ſtudy the Chineſe under my two interpreters, he had not only made conſiderable progreſs in it, but had learned to write the characters with great neatneſs and celerity, ſo that he was of material uſe to me on this occaſion, as he had been already before in tranſcribing the catalogue of the preſents. In the paper, I expreſſed the

ſtrongeſt deſire to do whatever I thought would be moſt agreeable to the emperor; but that, being the repreſentative of the firſt monarch of the weſtern world, his dignity muſt be the meaſure of my conduct; and that in order to reconcile it to the cuſtoms of the court of China, I was willing to conform to their etiquette, provided a perſon of equal rank with mine were appointed to perform the ſame ceremony before my ſovereign's picture, that I ſhould perform before the emperor himſelf. The legate ſhook his head; but *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* ſaid it was a good expedient, and offered immediately to go through the ceremony themſelves on the ſpot; but as they had no authority for the purpoſe, I civilly declined their propoſal.' II. 224, 225.

'Tueſday, September 10th. This day the legate *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* renewed the converſation of yeſterday, relative to the ceremony; in the courſe of which I told them it was not natural to expect that an ambaſſador ſhould pay greater homage to a foreign prince than to his own liege ſovereign, unleſs a return were made to him that might warrant him to do more. Upon which they aſked me, what was the ceremony of preſentation to the king of England? I told them it was performed by kneeling upon one knee, and kiſſing his Majeſty's hand. Why then, cried they, can't you do ſo to the emperor? Moſt readily, ſaid I; the ſame ceremony I perform to my own king, I am willing to go through for your emperor, and I think it a greater compliment than any other I can pay him. I ſhowed them the manner of it, and they retired ſeemingly well ſatisfied. In the afternoon *Chou-ta-gin* came to me alone, and ſaid that he had juſt ſeen the miniſter, and had a long conference with him upon this buſineſs; the reſult of which was, that either the Engliſh mode of preſentation (which I had ſhown them in the morning), or the picture ceremony ſhould be adopted; but he had not yet decided which. I ſaid nothing.—Soon after the legate arrived, and declared that it was finally determined to adopt the Engliſh ceremony; only, that as it was not the cuſtom of China to kiſs the emperor's hand, he propoſed I ſhould kneel upon both knees inſtead of it. I told him I had already given my anſwer, which was to kneel upon one knee only, on thoſe occaſions when it is uſual for the Chineſe to proſtrate themſelves. Well then, ſaid they, the ceremony of kiſſing the emperor's hand muſt be omitted. To this I aſſented, ſaying, as you pleaſe; but remember it is your doing, and, according to your propoſal, is but half the ceremony: and you ſee I am willing to perform the whole one. And thus ended this curious negociation, which has given me a tolerable inſight into the character of this court, and that political addreſs upon which they ſo much value themſelves.' II. 253, 254.

We paſs over the other preparations, and the grand proceſſion into Gehol, which ſeems greatly to have delighted the worthy ambaſſador, and to have received the emperor's approbation; and haſten to the ceremony itſelf of preſentation, which may indeed be reckoned the whole ſum and ſubſtance of the embaſſage.

'Saturday, September 14th. This morning at four o'clock A. M. we ſet out for the court under the convoy of *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, and reached it in little more than an hour, the diſtance being about three miles from our hotel. I proceeded in great ſtate with all my train of muſic, guards, &c. Sir George Staunton and I went in palankeens, and the officers and gentlemen of the embaſſy on horſeback. Over a rich embroidered velvet, I wore the mantle of the Order of the Bath with the collar, a diamond badge and a diamond ſtar. Sir George Staunton was dreſſed in a rich embroidered velvet alſo, and, being a doctor of laws in the univerſity of Oxford, wore the habit of his degree, which is of ſcarlet ſilk, full and flowing. I mention theſe little particulars to ſhow the attention I always paid, where a proper opportunity offered, to oriental cuſtoms and ideas. We alighted at the park gate, from whence we walked to the imperial encampment, and were conducted to a large handſome tent prepared for us on one ſide of the emperor's. After waiting there about an hour, his approach was announced by drums and muſic, on which we quitted our tent, and came forward upon the green carpet. He was ſeated in an open palankeen, carried by ſixteen bearers, attended by numbers of officers bearing flags, ſtandards, and umbrellas; and, as he paſſed, we paid him our compliments, by kneeling on one knee, whilſt all the Chineſe made their uſual proſtrations. As ſoon as he had aſcended his throne, I came to the entrance of the tent, and, holding in both my hands a large gold box enriched with diamonds, in which was encloſed the king's letter, I walked deliberately up, and, aſcending the ſide ſteps of the throne, delivered it into the emperor's own hands, who, having received it, paſſed it to the miniſter, by whom it was placed on the cuſhion. He then gave me, as the firſt preſent from him to his majeſty, the *ju-eu-jou* or *giou-giou*, as the ſymbol of peace and proſperity, and expreſſed his hopes that my ſovereign and he ſhould always live in good correſpondence and amity. It is a whitiſh agate looking ſtone, about a foot and a half long, curiouſly carved, and highly prized by the Chineſe; but to me it does not appear in itſelf to be of any great value.

'The emperor then preſented me with a *ju-eu-jou*, of a greeniſh coloured ſtone, and of the ſame emblematic character; at the ſame time he very graciouſly received from me a pair of beautiful enamelled watches ſet with diamonds, which I had prepared in conſequence of the information given me, and which having looked at, he paſſed to the miniſter.

'Sir George Staunton, whom, as he had been appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to act in caſe of my death or departure, I introduced to him as ſuch, now came forward, and after kneeling on one knee, in the ſame manner which I had done, preſented to him two elegant air guns, and received from him a *ju-eu-jou*, of greeniſh ſtone, nearly ſimilar to mine; other preſents were ſent at the ſame time to all the gentlemen of my train. We then deſcended from the ſteps of the throne, and ſat down upon cuſhions at one of the tables on the emperor's left hand; and at other tables, according to their different ranks, the chief Tartar princes; and the Mandarines of the court at the ſame time took their places, all dreſſ-

ed in the proper robes of their reſpective ranks. Theſe tables were then uncovered, and exhibited a ſumptuous banquet. The emperor ſent us ſeveral diſhes from his own table, together with ſome liquors, which the Chineſe call wine, not however expreſſed from the grape, but diſtilled or extracted from rice, herbs, and honey. In about half an hour he ſent for Sir George Staunton and me to come to him, and gave to each of us, with his own hands, a cup of warm wine, which we immediately drank in his preſence, and found it very pleaſant and comfortable, the morning being cold and raw. Among other things, he aſked me the age of my king, and, being informed of it, ſaid he hoped he might live as many years as himſelf, which are eighty-three. His manner is dignified, but affable and condeſcending, and his reception of us has been very gracious and ſatisfactory. He is a very fine old gentleman, ſtill healthy and vigorous, not having the appearance of a man of more than ſixty. The order and regularity in ſerving and removing the dinner was wonderfully exact, and every function of the ceremony performed with ſuch ſilence and ſolemnity, as in ſome meaſure to reſemble the celebration of a religious myſtery. The emperor's tent or pavilion, which is circular, I ſhould calculate to be about twenty-four or twenty-five yards in diameter, and is ſupported by a number of pillars either gilded, painted, or varniſhed, according to their diſtance and poſition. In the front was an opening of ſix yards, and from this opening a yellow fly-tent projected, ſo as to lengthen conſiderably the ſpace between the entrance and the throne. The materials and diſtribution of the furniture within at once diſplayed grandeur and elegance. The tapeſtry, the curtains, the carpets, the lanthorns, the fringes, the taſſels, were diſpoſed with ſuch harmony, the colours ſo artfully varied, and the light and ſhade ſo judiciouſly managed, that the whole aſſemblage filled the eye with delight, and diffuſed over the mind a pleaſing ſerenity and repoſe undiſturbed by glitter or affected embelliſhments.

'The commanding feature of the ceremony was that calm dignity, that ſober pomp of Aſiatic greatneſs, which European refinements have not yet attained.

'I forgot to mention, that there were preſent on this occaſion three ambaſſadors from Tatzi or Pegu, and ſix Mahomedan ambaſſadors from the Kalmucks of the ſouth-weſt: but their appearance was not very ſplendid. Neither muſt I omit that, during the ceremony, which laſted five hours, various entertainments of wreſtling, tumbling, wire-dancing, together with dramatic repreſentations, were exhibited oppoſite the tent, but at a conſiderable diſtance from it.

'Thus then have I ſeen *King Solomon in all his glory.* I uſe this expreſſion, as the ſcene recalled perfectly to my memory a puppet-ſhow of that name, which I recollect to have ſeen in my childhood, and which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on my mind, that I then thought it a true repreſentation of the higheſt pitch of human greatneſs and felicity.'—II. 258—261.

The deſcriptions of the ſuperb imperial gardens at Gehol, are

highly animated and interesting: but they are a great deal too long for either quotation or abstract. Soon after their presentation, attempts were made to enter upon business; but in vain; they were told to wait till the court went to Pekin, whither, indeed, they were themselves speedily ordered to proceed. They had not been long there, when the court followed them; and in a few days, the shortness of their subsequent stay in China, which had repeatedly been hinted at, was more formally unfolded to them. Lord Macartney had made another attempt at proceeding to business, when

'The minister, with his usual address, avoided entering into any discussion of those points which I had taken so much pains to lay before him, and turned the discourse upon the state of my health, assuring me that the emperor's proposal for my departure arose chiefly from his anxiety about it; for that otherwise my stay could not but be agreeable to him.

'Although, from the course of the conversation, and from the deportment of the minister and his two assessors, I was led to draw rather an unfavourable inference relative to my business, yet when I rose to take leave, nothing could be more gracious, or more flattering, than the expressions which he made use of to me upon the occasion, in so much that my interpreter congratulated me on the fair prospect of my negociation, and said that he expected the happiest issue from it. Nevertheless, since my return home, I have received two different communications, by which I am informed, that the emperor's answer to the king's letter is already prepared, and sent to be translated into Latin from the Chinese. This, I find, is an infallible indication of the court's intentions, and as a signal for us to take our leave. I am afraid that there is good ground for my apprehension, as *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, who have just been here, tell me that I shall have a message from the minister to meet him tomorrow at the palace. They say, that the emperor's letter for the king will *probably* be then delivered to me (for they pretend not to know *certainly* that it will), in which case, they advise me to ask permission to depart without delay. I suppose they have been directed to hold this discourse to me.' II. 299.

A few more suggestions were given next day; and, in short, they were so pressed from different quarters, that it was absolutely necessary they should demand leave to set out, in order to prevent some still 'broader and coarser hints.' It was immediately granted, and they began their journey on the 7th October. The account of this journey is very interesting.

The following passage does not certainly confirm the high notions which fanciful writers have conceived of the Chinese administration.

'In the course of conversation, they said that, including all the yachts, baggage-boats, and those of the attending Mandarines, there

were forty vessels employed on our present expedition, and upwards of a thousand persons attached to this service. That the emperor allows five thousand taels per day (each tael equal to 6s. 8d.) for defraying the expense of it; and that, if that sum should fall short, it must be levied on the provinces we pass through. That one thousand five hundred taels per day were allotted for the expense of our residence at Pekin, and that they were scarcely sufficient. Although the maintenance of the embassy must have undoubtedly been very considerable, I can by no means conceive it in any degree adequate to so large an amount. That it has been fully charged to the emperor is highly probable; but between the money charged, and the money actually expended, I understand there is usually a very material difference; for, though the emperor's warrant may be signed for a great sum, yet the checks of office, as they are called, are so numerous and so burdensome, that before it arrives at its last stage, it is almost sweated to nothing. I remember *Chou-ta-gin* telling me one day, as an instance of this, that an inundation in the course of last year had swept away a village in the province of *Chan-tong* so suddenly, that the inhabitants could save nothing but their lives. The emperor (who, from having formerly hunted there, was well acquainted with the place) immediately ordered one hundred thousand taels for their relief, out of which the first *Li-poo* took twenty thousand; the second, ten thousand; the third, five thousand; and so on till at last there remained no more than twenty thousand for the poor sufferers. So we find, that the boasted moral institutes of China are not much better observed than those of some other countries; and that the disciples of Confucius are composed of the same fragile materials as the children of Mammon in the western world.' II. 317–318.

We recommend the following answer to a charge of proselytizing, to the attention of certain well-disposed persons in this island, who have conceived so earnest a desire for the conversion of our Eastern subjects.

'To this I replied, that whatever might be the practice of some Europeans, the English never attempted to dispute or disturb the worship or tenets of others, being persuaded that the Supreme Governor of the universe was equally pleased with the homage of all his creatures, when proceeding from sincere devotion, whether according to one mode or another of the various religions which he permitted to be published; that the English came to China with no such views, as was evident from their merchants at Canton and Macao having no priests or chaplains belonging to them, as the other Europeans had; and that so far from an idea of that kind entering into my mind, or my commission, I had not in my whole train any person of the clerical character, and that it was such persons only, who were employed as the instruments of conversion; that it was true, as stated in the letter, the English had been anciently of the same religion as the Portuguese and the other missionaries, and had adopted another; but that one of the principal differences between us and them was our not having the same zeal for making proselytes which they had.' II. p. 327.

XUM

We must now make an end of our extracts, by giving the following anecdotes illustrative of the skill and proficiency of the Chinese in the useful arts. We omit a most execrable piece of fine writing, which is dashed into the passage, about the 'soaring nature' of the mind; adamants, fibres, spectres, ores and other figures.

'Having often observed numbers of blind persons, but never having met a wooden leg, or a deformed limb here, I concluded that good oculists were very rare, and that death was the usual consequence of a fracture. The viceroy told me I was right in my conjecture; but when I told him of many things in England, and which I had brought people with me to instruct the Chinese in, if it had been allowed, such as the reanimating drowned persons by a mechanical operation, restoring sight to the blind by the extraction or depression of the glaucoma, and repairing and amputating limbs by manual dexterity, both he and his companions seemed as if awakened out of a dream, and could not conceal their regret for the court's coldness and indifference to our discoveries. From the manner of these gentlemen's inquiries, the remarks which they made, and the impressions they seemed to feel, I have conceived a much higher opinion of their liberality and understanding. Whether in these two respects the minister be really inferior to them, or whether he acts upon a certain public system, which often supersedes private conviction, I know not; but certain it is, that in a conversation with him at Gehol, when I mentioned to him some recent inventions of European ingenuity, particularly that of the air-balloon, and that I had taken care to provide one at Pekin, with a person to go up in it, he not only discouraged that experiment, but most of the others which, from a perusal of all the printed accounts of this country, we had calculated and prepared for the meridian of China. Whatever taste the emperor *Cam-hi* might have shown for the sciences, as related by the Jesuits in his day, his successors have not inherited it with his other great qualities and possessions; for it would now seem that the policy and vanity of the court equally concurred in endeavouring to keep out of sight whatever can manifest our pre-eminence, which they undoubtedly feel, but have not as yet learned to make the proper use of. It is, however, in vain to attempt arresting the progress of human knowledge.—I am indeed very much mistaken, if all the authority and all the address of the Tartar government will be able much longer to stifle the energies of their Chinese subjects. Scarcely a year now passes without an insurrection in some of the provinces. It is true, they are usually soon suppressed; but their frequency is a strong symptom of the fever within. The paroxysm is repelled; but the disease is not cured.' II. 363—365.

From Canton, the embassy proceeded to Macao; where Lord Macartney falls into that breach of the tenth commandment, so usually committed by Englishmen. Because the possession of that settlement is held by the Portuguese, 'on terms equally useless and degrading to them' (which we should fancy is rather

their own affair than our's), he is for our getting it from them by all means. 'If,' says he, 'they made a difficulty of parting with it to us on fair terms, it might easily be taken from them by a small force from Madras, *and the compensation and irregularity be settled afterwards.*'—II. p. 396. This monstrous sentiment is so unlike the rest of Lord Macartney's conduct, that we wish his biographer had omitted it, although he found it in his private journal. To publish is rather worse than to write such a thing. Lord Macartney was not bred under a late government at Calcutta; nor had England, in his day, bowed her lofty head to the example of France, in the profligate policy of later times.

ART. IV. *Nouvelles Observations sur les Abeilles, adressées à M. Charles Bonnet, par François Huber.*

New Observations on the Natural History of Bees. By FRANCIS HUBER. Translated from the Original. 12mo. pp. 300. J. Anderson, Edinburgh. Longman & Co. London. 1806.

THE natural history of the common bee has been more carefully examined, and more amply treated of than that of any other of the insect tribe. Yet so complicated and extraordinary are some of the processes of nature, that the most diligent observers were long utterly unable to account for some circumstances in the history of this insect, and published to the world the most opposite explanations. Several of the most important and intricate problems, however, seem now to be finally resolved by the Genevese observer M. Huber, of whose valuable little work we purpose to lay before our readers a pretty full analysis. We regard the facts contained in this volume as extremely important to the naturalist; for they not only greatly elucidate the history of this wonderful insect, but present some singular facts in physiology hitherto unknown, and even unsuspected.

For the sake of those who may never have made bees the particular object of their study, it may not be unacceptable, previously to sketch, in a very few words, the striking outlines of their history; and to explain some terms generally employed in treating of them.

A hive contains three kinds of bees. 1. A single *queen-bee*, distinguishable by the great length of her body, and the proportional shortness of her wings. 2. *Working-bees, female non-breeders*, or, as they were formerly called, *neuters*, to the amount of *many thousands*: these are the smallest sized bees in the hive, and

are armed with a sting. 3. *Drones* or *males*, to the number perhaps of 1500 or 2000: these are larger than the workers, and of a darker colour; they make a greater noise in flying, and have no sting. The whole labour of the community is performed by the workers: they elaborate the wax, and construct the cells; they collect the honey, and feed the brood. The drones, numerous as they are, serve no other purpose than to insure the impregnation of the few young queens that may be produced in the course of the season; and they are regularly massacred by the workers in the beginning of autumn.

It is the office of the queen-bee to lay the eggs. These remain about three days in the cells before they are hatched. A small white *worm* then makes its appearance, (called indifferently *worm*, *larva*, *maggot* or *grub*): this larva is fed with honey for some days, and then changes into a *nymph* or *pupa*.* After passing a certain period in this state, it comes forth a perfect winged insect.

M. Huber sets out with describing the kind of improved glass hive which he employed in his experiments, and which he himself invented. He styles it the *leaf-hive* or *book-hive*, (*ruche en feuillets*, or *ruche en livre*), from its opening and shutting somewhat in the manner of the leaves of a book. It consists of several frames or boxes a foot square, and in width fifteen French lines, or sixteen English, that is, an inch and one third: the boxes are placed parallel to each other, and connected together by hinges. Availing himself of a known instinct in the bees leading them to complete any piece of a comb in the direction in which they find it begun, unless they meet with some insurmountable obstacle; he placed pieces of comb in each box, in such a position as to induce them to build perpendicular to the horzion. The lateral surfaces of the combs were thus only three or four lines distant from the glass panes; and, by opening the different divisions of the hive successively, both surfaces of every comb were, at pleasure, brought fully into view. M. Huber did not experience any difficulty in introducing swarms into these leaf-hives; and he found, that after the lapse of about three days, when the colony was fairly established, the bees submitted patiently to his daily inspections. Their tranquillity he ascribes, with some probability, to the surprize, and perhaps fear, produced by the sudden admission

* Some authors employ the terms *chrysalis* and *aurelia* in speaking of bees, as if they were synonymous with *nympha*: but a *nymph* is distinguished by being always rather soft, of a pale or dull colour, and exhibiting the traces of the extremities: while a *chrysalis* or *aurelia* is crustaceous, and generally, as implied in the name, of a golden yellow colour.

of the light; for he observed that they were always less tractable after sunset. An engraved plan of the leaf-hive accompanies the work; and from it, along with the explanation given by the author, we have no doubt that any person, fond of observing the wonderful economy of the busy tribe, might easily construct such a hive; and we believe that he would also find it most excellently adapted to the purpose in view. Both the queen bee and the drones being considerably larger than the working bees, by adapting glass-tubes exactly to the size of the workers, both queens and drones may be effectually excluded or effectually kept prisoners, as the nature of the experiments may require.

The work appears in the form of letters, written, or supposed to be written, by M. Huber to the late M. Bonnet, the celebrated author of the *Contemplation de la Nature.* Nine of the letters are occupied with the natural history of the queen bee; three treat of the formation of swarms; and the last, or thirteenth letter, contains some economical considerations on bees. The experiments are detailed with great perspicuity; pretty much in the familiar style in which they had been entered in M. Huber's journal: by this means, the reader is in some measure led to consider himself as looking on, or assisting the author to perform them. Subjoined to the first letter, there is an epistle from M. Bonnet to Huber, in which that philosopher suggests a number of experiments, the prosecution and results of several of which are related in the subsequent part of the work.

In the first two letters, he treats of the impregnation of the queen bee, a subject hitherto involved in the most profound obscurity. The drones are evidently males; but the most careful observation had never been able to detect any thing like sexual intercourse between them and the queen bees. Schirach (a German naturalist, well known for his discoveries concerning bees) boldly denied that such intercourse was necessary to her impregnation; and in this he is stoutly supported by our countryman Bonner. Swammerdam, again, remarking that the drones, at certain seasons, when collected in clusters, exhaled a strong odour, broached an opinion that this odour, proceeding from whole clusters of drones, was a kind of *aura seminalis*, which produced fecundation by penetrating the body of the female. There are generally from 1500 to 2000 males in a hive, while there are only two or three queens to be impregnated in a season; and Swammerdam seemed to have found, in his hypothesis, an easy explanation of this enormous disproportion in the numbers of the sexes. Réaumur, however, combated this fanciful doctrine; and our author has confuted it by direct experiment. He confined all the drones of a hive in a tin case, perforated with minute holes, sufficient to allow any emanation to escape. This tin case

was placed in a well inhabited hive, where there was a young queen, who could not fail to be subjected to the odour; but she remained barren.

Maraldi was the first to suggest another hypothesis, which apparently possessed a greater degree of probability; he imagined that the eggs were fecundified by the drones, after being deposited in the cells, in a way analogous to the fecundation of the spawn of fishes by the milters. Mr Debraw of Cambridge, (in Phil. Trans. 1777), strenuously supported this doctrine, and gave it a certain degree of plausibility, by referring to numerous experiments: he even affirmed, that the milt-like fluid of the drones might be seen in the cells. The supposition that the drones performed this important office, satisfactorily accounted for the prodigious numbers of them found in a hive. But Mr Debraw does not seem to have attended to this circumstance,—that great numbers of eggs are laid by the queen between the months of September and April, which prove fertile, although in that season there exist no males to supply the milt-like liquor. M. Huber is of opinion, that the appearance of a fluid had been merely an optical illusion, arising from the reflexion of the light at the bottom of the cell. He made the direct experiment of rigidly excluding every male from a hive, and yet found that eggs laid by the queen in this interval were as fertile as when the males were admitted. Mr Debraw's opinion, therefore, must be erroneous; for the fertility of these eggs must have depended on the previous impregnation of the queen herself, and not on any thing that could happen after they were deposited.

M. Hattorf, in a memoir published in Schirach's work, * endeavoured to show that the queen is impregnated by herself. This was also M. Schirach's opinion; and it seems to be that of Mr Bonner. It is an opinion, however, that requires no refutation. The cautious Huber, remarking how much confusion had arisen from making experiments with queens taken indiscriminately from the hive, (the source of the error just mentioned), thenceforward selected those which were decidedly in a virgin state, and with whose history he was acquainted from the moment they had left the cell.

The illustrious Linnæus was of opinion that the queen-bees formed an actual union with the drones; and he seems even to have suspected that this union proved fatal to the latter. His opinion on both points has now been verified. For, from many exeriments made in the course of the years 1787 and 1788, M. Huber found, that the young queens are never impregnated as long as they remain in the interior of the hive: if confined

* Histoire Naturelle de la Reine des Abeilles, 1772.

within its walls, they continue barren, though amidst a seraglio of males. To receive the approaches of the male, the queen soars high in the air, choosing that time of day when the heat has induced the drones to issue from the hive; and love is now ascertained to be the motive of the only distant journey which a young queen ever makes. From this excursion she returns in the space of about half an hour, with the most evident marks of fecundation; for, far from being satisfied with the prolific *aura* of Swammerdam, she actually carries away with her the *ipsa verenda* of the poor drone, who never lives to see his offspring, but falls a sacrifice to the momentary bliss of his aërial amour. The most complete proof of these facts is afforded by the detail of a number of concurring experiments. It is curious that our countryman Bonner should have remarked those aërial excursions of the young queens, without ever suspecting their real object, or observing the marks of fecundation upon their return to the hive. The worthy bee-master thought they were merely taking an airing. 'I have often (says he) seen young queens take an airing on the second or third day of their age.'* M. Huber also assigns a satisfactory cause for the existence of such a great number of males. 'As the queen is obliged to traverse the expanse of the atmosphere (he observes) it is requisite the males should be numerous, that she may have the chance of meeting some one of them.' But the reason why impregnation cannot be accomplished within the hive, has not yet been ascertained.

In Letter third, M. Huber states the accidental discovery of the very singular and unexpected consequences which follow from retarding the impregnation of the queen bee beyond the twentieth or twenty-first day of her life. In the natural order of things, or when impregnation is not retarded, the queen begins to lay the eggs of workers forty-six hours after her intercourse with the male, 'and she continues for the subsequent eleven months to lay these alone (only); and it is only after this period, that a considerable and uninterrupted laying of the eggs of drones commences. When, on the contrary, impregnation is retarded after the twentieth day, the queen begins, from the forty-sixth hour, to lay the eggs of drones; and she lays no other kind during her whole life.' It would be tedious to detail the experiments; they were numerous, and the results uniform. 'I occupied myself,' (says M. Huber), 'the remainder of 1787, and the two subsequent years, with experiments on retarded fecundation, and had constantly the same results. It is undoubted, therefore, that when the copulation of queens is retarded beyond the twentieth day, only an imperfect

* Bonner on Bees, 8vo edit. p. 165.

impregnation is operated; instead of laying the eggs of workers and of males equally, she will lay those of males only.' (p. 52.)

This discovery is entirely M. Huber's own; and so difficult is it to offer any plausible explanation of the fact, that he himself has scarcely attempted it. The difficulty is much increased when we consider, that a single interview with the male is sufficient for fecundifying the whole eggs that a queen will lay in the course of at least two years, (p. 54.); and that therefore it would be in vain to say, that an early impregnation may be necessary for the eggs of workers, and a later for those of drones. It will be recollected, that, in the natural state, the queen lays the eggs of workers for the first eleven months, to the amount of many thousands, before she lays a single drone egg; but that when her impregnation has been for a few days retarded, she begins at once to lay the eggs of drones. The generally admitted principle of the successive expansion of eggs, renders this very puzzling; for how comes it that the eggs of drones, which naturally require eleven months to come to perfection in the ovaria of the queen, are, in this case, perfected in forty-eight hours? What has become of the vast multitude of workers' eggs that the queen ought first to have deposited? It is certain that, during the first twenty days of her life, the eggs of workers ought to be laid; but it would seem that, intercourse with the male being denied, the first set of eggs become effete; they waste away, and perhaps drop from the animal. A fact mentioned by M. Huber, in a subsequent page, (p. 65.), seems to support this notion. 'The body of those queens whose impregnation has been retarded, is shorter than common: the extremity remains slender, while the first two rings next the thorax are uncommonly swoln.' On dissecting the double ovary, both branches were found to be equally expanded and equally sound; but the eggs were apparently not placed so closely together as in common queens. A queen, in ordinary circumstances, lays about 3000 eggs in the space of two months, which is at the rate of 50 a day. It was not correctly ascertained, whether the queens whose impregnation was retarded, laid a number of drone eggs corresponding to the whole number of eggs both of workers and drones which they ought to have deposited; but it is certain that they laid a greater number of drone eggs than they ought naturally to have done. The hives in which only drones were produced, always failed, and, indeed, generally broke up before the queens had done laying; for, after the lapse of some time, the workers finding themselves overwhelmed with drones, *fruges consumere nati*, and receiving no increase of their own number, abandoned the hive, and at the same time despatched their unfortunate sove-

reign.—In order to throw some light on this curious subject, M. Huber suggests the propriety of instituting analogous experiments on other insects; by retarding, for example, the impregnation of the females of other species of bees, of wasps, and of butterflies.

In the course of a number of experiments made on this subject, some other curious points in the natural history of the bee were accidentally illustrated. Thus, a queen, twenty-seven days old, having been impregnated on the 31st of October, did not begin to lay at the expiration of forty-six hours, apparently on account of the weather having, in the mean time, become extremely cold. She was confined in a hive all winter; and on the 4th of April ensuing, prodigious numbers both of larvæ and pupæ were found; and all of them produced drones.

'Here, as in the other experiments, retardation had rendered the queen incapable of laying the eggs of workers: but this result is the more remarkable, as she did not commence laying until four months and a half after fecundation. It is not rigorously true, therefore, that the term of forty-six hours elapses between the copulation of the female and her laying; the interval may be much longer if the weather grows cold. Lastly, it follows, that although cold will retard the laying of a queen impregnated in autumn, she will begin to lay in spring without requiring new copulation.'—p. 63.

Again, M. Huber had an opportunity of correcting those naturalists who maintain, that the working bees are charged with the task of conveying into proper cells such eggs as may be misplaced by the queen. He put a queen, who was ready to lay workers' eggs, into a prepared hive which contained only the cells of drones, but which communicated, by a narrow tube (sufficient to permit workers to pass, but too small for the queen), with another hive which contained plenty of the cells of workers. The queen, taught by nature the kind of eggs she was about to lay, searched about for suitable cells; but finding none, she chose rather to drop her eggs at random, than place those of workers in the cells of drones. The eggs thus dropped, soon disappeared; and careless observers might have concluded that they were carried off by the workers to the proper cells; but none were to be seen there; and the author soon ascertained that they were really eaten up by the workers. Thus it was proved that the care of depositing properly the respective kinds of eggs, is left entirely to the instinct of the queen, and that the workers running off with misplaced eggs in order to devour them, has been mistaken for their tenderly conveying them to the right cells.—When the impregnation of the queen bee is retarded, her instinct seems to suffer; for she then lays her eggs indiscriminately in large and in small cells; those laid in large cells producing large drones; those in

small cells, small drones; and she has been known to lay the eggs of drones even in royal cells, some of which kind of cells the bees always take care to construct whenever the queen begins to lay male eggs. It is remarkable that the workers were, on those last occasions, deceived, and treated the embryo drones as if they had been truly of the royal brood.

The working bees had for ages been considered as entirely destitute of sex; and hence, in the writings of many authors they are denominated *neuters*. From the experiments of Schirach and of Huber, it seems now to be clearly ascertained that the workers are really of the female sex; but that the organs of generation are small and imperfect, being capable, however, of development, if the larvæ be fed with royal jelly.

Letter fourth accordingly treats of Schirach's curious discovery, which is amply confirmed by Huber. The discovery was this; That when bees are by any accident deprived of their queen, they have the power of selecting one or two grubs of workers, and of converting them into queens; and that they accomplish this, by greatly enlarging the cells of those selected larvæ, by supplying them more copiously with food, and with food of a more pungent sort than is given to the common larvæ. 'All my researches (says our author, p. 77.) establish the reality of the discovery. During ten years that I have studied bees, I have repeated M. Schirach's experiment so often, and with such uniform success, that I can no longer have the least doubt on the subject.' The same testimony is given by Mr Bonner, who declares, that 'having repeated the experiment again and again, he can affirm it with the utmost confidence and certainty.'* M. Schirach's discovery may now therefore be considered as established beyond controversy; and the late Mr John Hunter's sarcastic strictures, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1792, must consequently fall to the ground. Mr Key's violent scepticism must at length also be overruled. That gentleman has declared that he made experiments for eight years on the subject, without obtaining a single favourable result;‡ but this ill luck can now, we think, be ascribed only to some unaccountable awkwardness, or some unhappy blunder in performing the experiments.

M. Huber gives the following curious account of the manner in which bees proceed in forming capacious cells for the workers' grubs destined to royalty.

'Bees soon become sensible of having lost their queen, and in a few hours commence the labour necessary to repair their loss. First, they

* Bonner on Bees, p. 60.

‡ Bath Society's Papers, vol. V.

select the young common worms, which the requisite treatment is to convert into queens, and immediately begin with enlarging the cells where they are deposited. Their mode of proceeding is curious; and the better to illustrate it, I shall describe the labour bestowed on a single cell, which will apply to all the rest containing worms destined for queens. Having chosen a worm, they sacrifice three of the contiguous cells; next they supply it with food, and raise a cylindrical enclosure around, by which the cell becomes a perfect tube, with a rhomboidal bottom; for the parts forming the bottom are left untouched. If the bees damaged it, they would lay open three corresponding cells on the opposite surface of the comb, and consequently destroy their worms, which would be an unnecessary sacrifice, and nature has opposed it. Therefore, leaving the bottom rhomboidal, they are satisfied with raising a cylindrical tube around the worm, which, like the other cells in the comb, is horizontal. But this habitation remains suitable to the worm called to the royal state, only during the first three days of its existence: another situation is requisite for the other two days it is a worm. Then, which is so small a portion of its life, it must inhabit a cell nearly of a pyramidal figure, and hanging perpendicularly. The workers therefore gnaw away the cells surrounding the cylindrical tube, mercilessly sacrifice their worms, and use the wax in constructing a new pyramidal tube, which they solder at right angles to the first, and work it downwards. The diameter of this pyramid decreases insensibly from the base, which is very wide, to the point. In proportion as the worm grows, the bees labour in extending the cell, and bring food, which they place before its mouth, and around its body, forming a kind of cord around it. The worm, which can move only in a spiral direction, turns incessantly to take the food before its head: it insensibly descends, and at length arrives at the orifice of the cell. Now is the time of transformation to a nymph. As any further care is unnecessary, the bees close the cell with a peculiar substance appropriated for it, and there the worm undergoes both its metamorphoses.' p. 78.—80.

Our author states several points, however, in which his experience leads him to differ from M. Schirach. The latter observer having remarked, that larvæ three days old were generally selected for the royal treatment, concluded that this age of three days was an essential requisite; but M. Huber found that those two days old, or only a few hours old, were sometimes chosen to the throne, and became perfect queens. We shall extract one experiment at length, as it both demonstrates the reality of common larvæ being converted into queens, and shows the little influence which their age has on the effects of the operation.

'I put some pieces of comb, with some workers' eggs, in the cells, and of the same kind as those already hatched, into a hive deprived of the queen. The same day several cells were enlarged by the bees, and converted into royal cells, and the worms supplied with a thick bed of jelly. Five were then removed from those cells, and five common

worms, which, forty-eight hours before, we had seen come from the egg, substituted for them. The bees did not seem aware of the change; they watched over the new worms the same as over those chosen by themselves; they continued enlarging the cells, and closed them at the usual time. When they had brooded on them (for such seems to be M. Huber's opinion) for seven days, we removed the cells to see the queens that were to be produced. Two were excluded almost at the same moment, of the largest size, and well formed in every respect. The term of the other cells having elapsed, and no queen appearing, we opened them. In one was a dead queen, but still a nymph: the other two were empty. The worms had spun their silk coccoons, but died before passing into their nymphine state, and presented only a dry skin. I can conceive nothing more conclusive than this experiment. It demonstrates that bees have the power of converting worms of workers into queens, since they succeeded in procuring queens by operating on the worms which we ourselves had selected. It is equally demonstrated, that the success of the operation does not depend on the worms being three days old, as those entrusted to the bees were only two.' p. 81, 82.

He mentions another experiment, by which it appears, that larvæ only a few hours old (as already hinted), are sometimes destined to replace a lost queen.

In his fifth letter M. Huber relates some experiments which confirm the singular discovery of M. Riems, concerning the existence, occasionally, of common working bees that are capable of laying eggs,—which, we may remark, is certainly a most convincing proof of their being of the female sex. Eggs were observed to increase in number daily in a hive in which there were no queens of the usual appearance; but small queens considerably resemble workers, and to discriminate them required minute inspection.

'My assistant' (says M. Huber) 'then offered to perform an operation that required both courage and patience, and which I could not resolve to suggest, though the same expedient had occurred to myself. He proposed to examine each bee in the hive separately, to discover whether some small queen had not insinuated herself among them, and escaped our first researches.—It was necessary, therefore, to seize the whole bees, notwithstanding their irritation, and to examine their specific character with the utmost care. This my assistant undertook, and executed with great address. Eleven days were employed in it; and, during all that time, he scarcely allowed himself any relaxation, but what the relief of his eyes required. He took every bee in his hand; he attentively examined the trunk, the hind limbs, and the sting; and he found that there was not one without the characteristics of the common bee, that is, the little basket on the hind legs, the long trunk, and the straight sting.' p. 91, 92.

They afterwards seized a fertile worker in the very act of laying; and they thus describe her appearance, (p. 94.) 'She pre-

sented all the external characteristics of common bees; the only difference we could recognize, and that was a very slight one, consisted in the belly seeming less, and more slender than that of workers. On dissection, her ovaries were found more fragile, smaller, and composed of fewer oviducts than the ovaries of queens. We counted eleven eggs of sensible size, some of which appeared ripe for laying. This ovary was double, like that of queens.' How or when these fertile workers are impregnated is quite unknown.

Fertile workers resemble queens whose impregnation has been retarded, in this, that they lay the eggs of drones only, never those of workers; and also in this, that they sometimes place their eggs in royal cells. It is remarkable, however, that in the case of queens, whose impregnation has been retarded, laying their eggs in royal cells, the bees build them up, and brood over them until the last metamorphosis of the included drones; but that when eggs are deposited in royal cells by fertile workers, the bees, although at first they pay due attention to the larvæ, never fail to destroy them in the course of a few days.

Schirach's discoveries certainly proved, that common working-bees are radically of the female sex. Huber, we have seen, detected and described their ovaries; and the notion, long entertained, of their being of the *neuter* gender, is now justly exploded as a solecism in animated nature. Here, we cannot help observing, that the doctrine of workers being of the female sex, has accidentally, and most unintentionally, received a very striking collateral confirmation from one of its most eminent opposers. Linnæus had asserted * that there are ten joints in the antennæ of queens; eleven in those of drones; and fifteen in those of workers: and his assertion on this point naturally passed current as authentic fact. Taking it for granted, therefore, that there existed such a discrepancy in the structure of the antennæ of queens and of workers, naturalists were startled at the new doctrine, that both were females, and that the larvæ of workers could be converted into queens. Mr Kirby (the acute and laborious author of the *Monographia Apum Angliæ*, in which he has described above 220 species, natives of England), has corrected the Swedish knight, and informs us, that there are positively the same number of articulations in the antennæ of queens, as in those of workers. This testimony is not the less deserving of credit, that it militates against Mr Kirby's own notions, who continues to argue for workers being proper neuters.

* Systema Naturæ, art. Apis mellifica. 'Regina (fœmina), antennis articulis 10, &c. Fuci (mares), antennis 11-articulatis, &c. Operariæ (spadones), antennis 15-articulatis, &c.'

M. Huber imagines he has discovered the cause of the partial expansion of the sexual organs in those workers that prove fertile. He observes, that fertile workers appear in those hives only that have lost the queen, and where of course a quantity of royal jelly is prepared for feeding the larvæ intended to replace her. He suspects that the bees, either by accident or by a particular instinct, the principle of which is unknown, drop some particles of royal jelly into cells contiguous to those containing the worms destined for queens. The larvæ of workers that thus casually receive portions of this active aliment, are affected by it, and their ovaries acquire a certain degree of expansion: from the want of full feeding, and owing to the smallness of their cells, this expansion is only partial, and such fertile workers remain of the ordinary size of working bees, and lay only a few eggs. The royal jelly, when pure, may be known by its pungent taste; * but when mixed with other substances, it is not easily distinguished. M. Huber repeatedly tried to feed some of the larvæ of workers in other parts of the hive, with the royal jelly, in order to observe the consequences; but he found this to be a vain attempt, the bees immediately destroying such worms, and themselves devouring the food. It has not therefore been directly ascertained, that all fertile workers proceed from larvæ that have received portions of the royal food; but M. Huber observed, that they were uniformly such as had passed the vermicular state, in cells contiguous to the royal ones. 'The bees, (he remarks), in their course thither, will pass in numbers over them, stop, and drop some portion of the jelly destined for the royal larvæ.' This reasoning, though not conclusive, is plausible. The result is so uniform, that M. Huber says he can, whenever he pleases, produce fertile workers in his hives. They are probably, he adds, always produced, in greater or less numbers, whenever the bees have to create to themselves a new queen; and the reason that they are so seldom seen, probably is, that the queen bees attack and destroy them without mercy whenever they perceive them.

Letters sixth and seventh, treat of the combats of queens; the massacre of the males; and of the reception a stranger queen meets with in a hive. When a supernumerary queen is produced in a hive, or is introduced into it in the course of experiment,

* Mr Bonner puzzles much about this royal jelly, whether it be of a *generative* or a *nutritive* nature: he inclines to the former opinion, while he at the same time admits, that in this case we must take it for granted that the working bees are males! But this difficulty he pleasantly enough considers as counterbalanced by one on the other side; for if the jelly be merely of a nutritive nature, then, says he, the queen is self-prolific, or a hermaphrodite!

either she or the rightful owner soon perishes. The German naturalists, Schirach and Riems, imagined that the working-bees assailed the stranger, and stung her to death. Réaumur considered it as more probable, that the sceptre was made to depend on the issue of a single combat between the claimants; and this conjecture is verified by the observations of Huber. The same hostility towards rivals, and destructive vengeance against royal cells, animates all queens, whether they be virgins, or in a state of impregnation, or the mothers of numerous broods. The working-bees, it may here be remarked, remain quiet spectators of the destruction, by the first-hatched queens, of the remaining royal cells; they approach only to share in the plunder presented by their havock-making mistress, greedily devouring any food found at the bottom of the cells, and even sucking the fluid from the abdomen of the nymphs before they toss out the carcases.

The following fact, connected with this subject, is one of the most curious perhaps in the whole history of this wonderful insect. Whenever the workers perceive that there are two rival queens in the hive, numbers of them crowd around each: they seem to be perfectly aware of the approaching deadly conflict, and willing to prompt their amazonian chieftains to the battle; for, as often as the queens show a disinclination to fight, or seem inclined to recede from each other, or to fly off, the bees immediately surround and detain them; but when either combatant shows a disposition to approach her antagonist, all the bees forming the clusters, instantly give way to allow her full liberty for the attack. (p. 117.) It seems strange that those bees who in general show so much anxiety about the safety of their queen, should, in particular circumstances, oppose her preparations to avoid impending danger,—should seem to promote the battle, and to excite the fury of the combatants.

When a queen is removed from a hive, the bees do not immediately perceive it; they continue their labours; 'watch over the young, and perform all their ordinary occupations. But, in a few hours, agitation ensues; all appears a scene of tumult in the hive. A singular humming is heard; the bees desert their young; and rush over the surface of the combs with a delirious impetuosity.' They have now evidently discovered that their sovereign is gone; and the rapidity with which the bad news now spreads through the hive, to the opposite side of the combs, is very remarkable. On replacing the queen in the hive, tranquillity is almost instantly restored. The bees, it is worthy of notice, recognize the individual person of their own queen. If another be palmed upon them, they seize and surround her, so that she is either suffocated or perishes by hunger; for it is very remarkable, that the workers

are never known to attack a queen bee with their stings. If, however, more than eighteen hours have elapsed before the stranger queen be introduced, she has some chance to escape: The bees do at first seize and confine her; but less rigidly; and they soon begin to disperse, and at length leave her to reign over a hive in which she was at first treated as a prisoner. If twenty-four hours have elapsed, the stranger will be well received from the first, and at once admitted to the sovereignty of the hive. In short, it appears that the bees when deprived of their queen, are thrown into great agitation; that they wait about twenty hours, apparently in hopes of her return; but that after this interregnum, the agitation ceases; and they set about supplying their loss by beginning to construct royal cells. It is when they are in this temper, and not sooner, that a stranger queen will be graciously received: and upon her being presented to them, the royal cells, in whatever state of forwardness they may happen to be, are instantly abandoned, and the larvæ destroyed. Réaumur must therefore have mistaken the result of his own experiments, when he asserts, that a stranger queen is instantly well received, though presented at the moment when the other is withdrawn. He had seen the bees crowding around her at the entrance of the hive, and laying their antennæ over her: and this he seems to have taken for caressing. The structure of the hives he employed, prevented him from seeing further: had he used the leaf-hive, or one of similar construction, he would have perceived that the apparent caresses of the guards were only the prelude of actual imprisonment.

It is well known, that after the season of swarming, a general massacre of the drones is commenced. Several authors assert in their writings, that the workers do not sting the drones to death, but merely harass them till they be banished from the hive and perish. M. Huber contrived a glass table, on which he placed several hives, and he was thus able to see distinctly what passed in the bottom of the hive, which is generally dark and concealed: he witnessed a real and furious massacre of the males, the workers thrusting their stings so deep into the bodies of the defenceless drones, that they were obliged to turn on themselves as on a pivot, before they could extricate them. The work of death commenced in all the hives much about the same time. It is not, however, by a blind or indiscriminating instinct that the workers are impelled thus to sacrifice the males; but if a hive be deprived of its queen, no massacre of the males takes place in it, while the hottest persecution rages in all the surrounding hives. In this case, the males are allowed to survive over winter. Mr Bonner had observed this fact; he supposed, however, that the workers thus tolerated the drones for the sake of the additional heat they generated in the hive; but we

now see the true reason to be, that their aid is needed to impregnate a new queen. The drones are also suffered to exist in hives that possess fertile workers, but no proper queen; and, what is remarkable, they are likewise spared in hives governed by a queen, whose impregnation has been retarded. Here, then, we perceive a counter instinct opposed to that which would have impelled them to the usual massacre.

Letter eighth is occupied with miscellaneous topics. The author first investigates whether the queen be really oviparous; and this point he clearly ascertains in the affirmative.

He next states the different periods at which the transformations occur, in the case of the different orders of queen, worker, and drone; and his information being minute, and no doubt correctly accurate, we shall extract it.

'The worm of workers paſſes three days in the egg, five in the vermicular ſtate, and then the bees cloſe up its cell with a wax covering. The worm now begins ſpinning its coccoon, in which operation thirty-ſix houre are conſumed. In three days it changes to a nymph, and it paſſes ſix days in this form. It is only on the twentieth day of its exiſtence, counting from the moment the egg is laid, that it attains the fly ſtate.—The royal worm alſo paſſes three days in the egg, and is five a worm; the bees then cloſe its cell, and it immediately begins ſpinning the coccoon, which occupies twenty-four hours. The tenth and eleventh day it remains in complete repoſe, and even ſixteen hours of the twelfth. Then the transformation to a nymph takes place, in which ſtate four and one-third days are paſſed. Thus, it is not before the ſixteenth day that the perfect ſtate of queen is attained.—The male worm paſſes three days in the egg, ſix and a half as a worm, and metamorphoſes into a fly on the twenty-fourth day after the egg is laid.'—p. 151, 152.

The author then examines the effects of position on the growth of the larvæ. The bodies of the larvæ, in the cells of workers and drones, are placed perpendicular to the horizon; those in royal cells lye horizontally. It was suspected that the horizontal posture somehow promoted the increment of the royal grub; but M. Huber found, that a complete reversal of the position was followed by no perceptible consequence to the larvæ.

We have, in the next place, some remarks on the coccoons spun by the different larvæ. Workers and drones both spin complete coccoons, or enclose themselves on every side. Royal larvæ, however, construct only imperfect coccoons, open behind, and enveloping only the head, thorax, and first ring of the abdomen. M. Huber concludes, without any hesitation, that the final cause of the royal larvæ forming only incomplete coccoons, is, that they may thus be exposed to the mortal sting of the first-hatched queen, whose instinct leads her instantly to

seek the destruction of those that would soon become her rivals; and he calls upon us to admire the providence of Nature, in thus exposing the royal larvæ to fatal danger. (p. 159.)

In the close of the letter, we have an account of an experiment instituted to determine the influence which the size of the cells might have on the size of the bees produced in them. All the larvæ were removed from a comb of drones' cells, and the larvæ of workers substituted in their place. The bees, it may be remarked, immediately showed that they were aware of the change which had been effected; for they did not close the cells with the convex covering always placed over the males, but gave them quite a flat top. The result proved, that the size of the cells does not materially influence the size of the bees; or, at least, that although a small cell may cramp the size of a worker, yet, that workers bred in large cells do not exceed the ordinary bulk.

In letters ninth, tenth, and eleventh, the author treats of the formation of swarms. But in the first place, he gives an interesting account of the hatching of the queen bee. When the pupa is about to change into the perfect insect, the bees render the cover of the cell thinner by gnawing away part of the wax; and with so much nicety do they perform this operation, that the cover at last becomes pellucid, owing to its extreme thinness. This must not only facilitate the exit of the fly, but, M. Huber remarks, it may possibly be useful in permitting the evaporation of the superabundant fluids of the nymph. After the transformation is complete, the young queens would, in common course, immediately emerge from their cells as workers and drones do; but the bees always keep them prisoners for some days in their cells, supplying them in the mean time with honey for food; a small hole being made in the door of each cell, through which the confined bee extends its proboscis to receive it. The royal prisoners continually utter a kind of song, the modulations of which are said to vary. The final cause of this temporary imprisonment, it is suggested, may possibly be, that they may be able to take flight at the instant they are liberated. When a young queen does at last get out, she meets with rather an awkward reception; she is pulled, bit, and chased, as often as she happens to approach the other royal cells in the hive. The purpose of nature here seems to be, that she should be impelled to go off with a swarm as soon as possible. A curious fact was observed on these occasions: when the queen found herself much harassed, she had only to utter a peculiar noise, (the commanding voice, we may presume, of sovereignty), and all the bees were instantaneously constrained to submission and obedience. This is indeed one of the most marked instances in which the queen exerts her sove-

reign power. It seems entirely to have escaped the notice of Mr Bonner, who declares that he never could observe in the queen any thing like an exertion of sovereignty. *

The conclusions at which M. Huber arrives on the subject of swarms, are the following.

1*st*, ' A swarm is always led off by a single queen, either the sovereign of the parent hive, or one recently brought into existence. If, at the return of spring, we examine a hive well peopled, and governed by a fertile queen, we shall see her lay a prodigious number of male eggs in the course of May, and the workers will choose that moment for constructing several royal cells.' (p. 202.) This laying of male eggs in May, M. Huber calls the *great laying;* and he remarks, that no queen ever has a great laying till she be eleven months old. It is only after finishing this laying, that she is able to undertake the journey implied in leading a swarm; for, previously to this, ' *latum trahit alvum,* ' which unfits her for flying. There appears to be a secret relation between the production of male eggs and the construction of royal cells. The great laying commonly lasts thirty days: and regularly on the twentieth or twenty-first, several royal cells are founded.

2*dly*, ' When the larvæ hatched from the eggs laid by the queen in the royal cells are ready to transform to nymphs, this queen leaves the hive, conducting a swarm along with her; and the first swarm that proceeds from the hive is uniformly conducted by the old queen.' (p. 205.) M. Huber remarks, that it was necessary that instinct should impel the old queen to lead forth the first swarm; for that she being the strongest, would never have failed to have overthrown the younger competitors for the throne. An old queen, as has been already said, never quits a hive at the head of a swarm, till she have finished her laying of male eggs; but this is of importance, not merely that she may be lighter and fitter for flight, but that she may be ready to begin with the laying of workers' eggs in her new habitation, workers being the bees first needed in order to secure the continuance and prosperity of the newly founded commonwealth.

3*dly*, ' After the old queen has conducted the first swarm from the hive, the remaining bees take particular care of the royal cells, and prevent the young queens successively hatched, from leaving them, unless at an interval of several days between each.' (p. 207.) Under this head, he introduces a number of general remarks, some of which may prove useful. ' A swarm (he observes) is never seen, unless in a fine day, or, to speak more correctly, at a time of the day when the sun shines, and the air is calm. Sometimes we have observed all the precursors of swarming, disorder

* Bonner on Bees, p. 52.

and agitation; but a cloud passed before the sun, and tranquillity was restored; the bees thought no more of swarming. An hour afterwards, the sun having again appeared, the tumult was renewed; it rapidly augmented; and the swarm departed.' (p. 211.) A certain degree of tumult commences as soon as the young queens are hatched, and begin to traverse the hive: the agitation soon pervades the whole bees; and such a ferment then rages, that M. Huber has often observed the thermometer in the hive rise suddenly from about 92° to above 104°: this suffocating heat he considers as one of the means employed by nature for urging the bees to go off in swarms. In warm weather, one strong hive has been known to send off four swarms in eighteen days.

4*thly*, 'The young queens conducting swarms from their native hive, are still in a virgin state.' (p. 221.) The day after being settled in their new abode, they generally set out in quest of the males, and this is usually the fifth day of their existence as queens. Old queens conducting the first swarms require no renewal of their intercourse with the male, a single interview being sufficient to fecundate all the eggs that a queen will lay for at least two years. This is considered by Mr Bonner as quite an incredible circumstance; insomuch that he remarks, either in a sarcastic, or in a very innocent style, that if a queen-bee 'should continue for seven or eight months with about 12,000 impregnated eggs in her ovarium, it certainly would make her appear very large!' * The worthy bee-master seems to have fancied that an egg could not be fecundated till it were of the full size, and ready for exclusion. It is a fact, however, ascertained beyond controversy by M. Huber, that 'a single copulation is sufficient to impregnate the whole eggs that a queen will lay in the course of at least two years. I have even reason to think (he adds) that a single copulation will impregnate all the eggs that she will lay during her whole life; but I want absolute proof for more than two years.' p. 54.

Towards the close of the eleventh letter, we have some remarks on the wonderful instincts of bees; and in hazarding these, M. Huber is duly cautious. He resolves all into what Shakespeare calls a 'ruling nature;' and disapproves both of Réaumur for ascribing wisdom and foresight to them, and of Buffon for considering them as mere automata. We do not imagine he would be at all more indulgent to our learned countryman Mr Knight, who, in a late paper on the economy of bees, † has intimated his belief that they can hold consultations, and communicate different kinds of intelligence to each other. 'If their language (he

* Bonner on Bees, p. 69.

† Phil. Trans. 1807, part ii.

goes the length of saying) be not in some degree a language of ideas, it appears to be something very similar.'

In the twelfth letter, we find additional observations on queens that lay only the eggs of drones, or whose fecundation has been retarded. The instinct of such queens seems to be impaired: they show no antipathy to royal cells, but pass quietly over them without indicating any emotion, while other queens exhibit the greatest enmity against those of their own sex that are in the nymphine state. Some observations are added on the effects produced by mutilating the bodies of queens. Swammerdam had asserted, that if the wings of queens be cut, they are rendered sterile. This appeared rather strange and improbable. M. Huber accordingly found, that the cutting of the wings of impregnated queens produced no effect on them; and he concludes, certainly with great probability, that Swammerdam had cut the wings of virgin queens, who had not therefore been able to seek the males in the air, and so remained barren. The amputation of one antenna, M. Huber found, had no bad effect on a queen; but when deprived of both, she was much deranged: she dropped her eggs at random; and when the bees fed her, she often missed her aim in attempting to catch hold of the morsel they presented to her. M. Huber placed two queens deprived of the antennæ in the same hive: the loss of their feelers seemed to have put an end to their natural animosity; they passed and repassed each other, without taking the least notice. Both of them constantly endeavoured to leave the hive. M. Huber declares, that he cannot say whether the antennæ be the organs of touch or of smell; but he suggests that they may possibly fulfil both functions at once. It seems fully as probable that they are the instruments of a peculiar sense, of the nature of which we have no conception, and for which, consequently, we have no name.

In the thirteenth and last letter, we have several useful observations on the economical treatment of bees. It has already been hinted, that M. Huber's leaf-hive might be employed with advantage by practical men. It is well calculated, for example, for producing artificial swarms, on the principle of Schirach's discovery. 'In the leaf-hive we can see whether the population is sufficient to admit of division,—if the brood is of proper age,—if males exist or are ready to be produced for impregnating the young queen.' By means of it, also, bees may be induced to work much more in wax than they would naturally do. 'Here' (says M. Huber) 'I am led to what I believe is a new observation. While naturalists have directed our admiration to the parallel position of the combs, they have overlooked another trait in the industry of bees, namely, the equal distance uniformly

between them. On measuring the interval separating the combs, it will generally be found about four lines. Were they too distant, it is very evident the bees would be much dispersed, and unable to communicate their heat reciprocally; whence the brood would not be exposed to sufficient warmth. Were the combs too close, on the contrary, the bees could not freely traverse the intervals, and the work of the hive would suffer.' (p. 263.) This instinct being admitted, it is evident that bees may be induced to construct new combs, by merely separating those already built, so far asunder, that they may have room to build others in the interval.

The cause of the bees, which has been so eloquently and pathetically pleaded by the Poet of the Seasons, is supported by M. Huber on a principle more intelligible perhaps, and more persuasive, to most country bee-masters,—*viz.* interest. He deprecates the destruction of bees, and recommends to the cultivator to be content with a reasonable share of the wealth of the hive; arguing, very justly we believe, that a little taken from each of a number of hives, is ultimately much more profitable, than a greater quantity obtained by the total destruction of a few.

M. Huber, in the conclusion, promises to give to the public a separate work on the economical management of bees. This has not yet been published; but the experience and sagacity of the author lead us to anticipate in it, the most useful practical book that has ever appeared on the subject. We may observe, however, that to the edition printed at Paris in 1796 is subjoined a 'Manuel-pratique de la Culture des Abeilles,' by a Frenchman. This little tract contains, in our opinion, a good deal of useful information, exhibiting the most recent and improved plans adopted in France. A translation of it, we conceive, would have been a valuable addition to the work now before us.

Upon the whole, M. Huber's treatise is both an entertaining and an instructive little volume. Throughout the performance, however, a want of arrangement is conspicuous; and in this respect the original is still more faulty than the translation; for the translator has with propriety removed to an appendix some minute anatomical details, which interrupt and darken the narrative; and has, on the other hand, engrossed in the text some important and closely connected passages which are improperly thrown into foot-notes in the original.

The author mentions in his preface, that he had long been deprived of sight, and was obliged to depend on an assistant in making his experiments. We should not wonder if the reader should agree with us in being at first somewhat mortified at this intelligence, and should wish that the author had seen every thing

with his own eyes:—we should really be surprised if he did not smile with us at finding this untoward-looking circumstance actually considered as an advantage by the translator; for, after mentioning the circumstance, the translator, in his preface, immediately adds, 'Thus these discoveries may be said to acquire double authority!' Now, it seems pretty evident, that though a naturalist's assistant may possess a pair of very good eyes, he may yet be quite inadequate to the task of intelligibly describing what he sees. M. Huber, however, fortunately enjoyed, in *Francis Burnens*, a philosophic assistant, who himself appears to have entered with enthusiasm into the pursuit, and to have conducted the experiments, not only with the most patient assiduity, watching every occurrence *oculis emissitiis*, but with great address, and no small share of steadiness and courage—qualities indispensable in those who attempt to work among the stinging nations.

In respect to the translation, it is anonymous; but bears intrinsic marks of Scottish extraction. In his preface, the translator observes, 'It is vain to attempt a translation of any work without being to a certain degree skilled in the subject of which it treats. Some parts of the original of the following treatise, it must be acknowledged, are confused, and some so minute, that it is extremely difficult to give an exact interpretation. But the general tenor, though not elegant, is plain and perspicuous; and such has it been here retained.' We should be sorry to detract from this modest claim. The translation is certainly always plain, and it is generally perspicuous. The extracts we have given may be considered as affording a fair specimen of the whole. We must not conceal, however, that in some few instances it is careless and faulty. The sense is entirely mistaken at p. 112; and at p. 23 inextricable confusion is produced by his chusing to render 'reigning queens' by the extraordinary phrase of 'virgin females.' Upon the whole, however, the translation is better than that of most French books.

As Mr Bonner's treatise is pretty well known, and his opinions generally circulated, especially in Scotland, we have thought it not amiss, in the course of the preceding analysis, to state the chief points in which M. Huber differs from him; and we confess that it has appeared to us that in these cases our countryman generally stands corrected by the Genevese observer. They appear both to have been engaged in making their experiments and observations about the same time, from 1788 to 1791. M. Huber, however, possessed several eminent advantages. He was directed in his researches by one of the first philosophers of the day, M. Bonnet; he was not restrained in his experiments by any considerations of time or expense; and he was aided by an assistant pecu-

XUM

liarly expert in working among bees. Our Bonner, on the other hand, was much restricted, both as to expense and time, having a family to support by his daily earnings at the loom; and he long laboured under a very peculiar and almost incredible disadvantage,—that of residing in the midst of a populous city; for we understand it to be a fact, that his apiary was for some years kept in a *garret* in Glasgow.

The practical directions contained in Mr Bonner's book,* are, we have no doubt, in general excellent; but many of them are of partial application only, being peculiarly adapted to the climate of North Britain; and it must not be concealed, that this climate is unfavourable to the cultivation of bees. In this respect, it is inferior not only to the climate of France or Italy, but even to that of Denmark or Russia: for in these last countries, the bees remain, during the whole winter, in a state approaching to torpor, and never leave their hives till the frost have fairly broken up, when, as is well known, the genial season immediately commences, and continues steady for several months. With us, on the contrary, the great changeableness of the weather in the months of March, April and May, opposes almost an insurmountable obstacle to that extensive culture of those insects, so enthusiastically projected by the worthy bee-master; and if we be not misinformed, the issue of some pretty extensive trials made by the author himself, under the patronage of the indefatigable President of the Board of Agriculture (Sir John Sinclair), has not much tended to encourage those high expectations.

---

* His work is entitled, 'A New Plan for speedily increasing the Number of Bee-hives in Scotland; and which may be extended with equal success to England, Ireland, or America, &c. By James Bonner, Bee-master.' One volume 8vo. Edinburgh, 1795.—The book seems to be little known in England: for, in Mr Knight's paper on the Economy of Bees, in the 2d part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1807, the circumstances of bees sending out a squadron of scouts to fix on a habitation, before the day of swarming, and of the swarm then flying in a direct line to the selected spot, &c. &c. are announced as if they were new discoveries; while it so happens, that these very facts are minutely and distinctly stated in the Scottish bee-master's work, pp. 156, 157. Another of Mr Knight's remarks will be found anticipated at p. 137.

ART. V. *Causes of the Increase of Methodism and Dissension.* By ROBERT ACKLEM INGRAM, B. D. Hatchard.

THIS is the production of an honest man, possessed of a fair share of understanding. He cries out lustily (and not before it is time), upon the increase of Methodism; proposes various remedies for the diminution of this evil; and speaks his opinions with a freedom which does him great credit, and convinces us that he is a respectable man. The clergy are accused of not exerting themselves. What temporal motive, Mr Ingram asks, have they for exertion? Would a curate, who had served thirty years upon a living in the most exemplary manner, secure to himself, by such a conduct, the slightest right or title to promotion in the church? What can you expect of a whole profession, in which there is no more connexion between merit and reward, than between merit and beauty, or merit and strength? This is the substance of what Mr Ingram says upon this subject; and he speaks the truth. We regret, however, that this gentleman has thought fit to use against the dissenters, the exploded clamour of Jacobinism; or that he deems it necessary to call in to the aid of the Church, the power of intolerant laws, in spite of the odious and impolitic tests to which the dissenters are still subjected. We believe them to be very good subjects; and we have no doubt but that any further attempt upon their religious liberties, without reconciling them to the Church, would have a direct tendency to render them disaffected to the State.

Mr Ingram (whose book, by the by, is very dull and tedious) has fallen into the common mistake of supposing his readers to be as well acquainted with his subject as he is himself; and has talked a great deal about dissenters, without giving us any distinct notions of the spirit which pervades these people—the objects they have in view—or the degree of talent which is to be found among them. To remedy this very capital defect, we shall endeavour to set before the eyes of the reader, a complete section of the tabernacle; and to present him with a near view of those sectaries, who are at present at work upon the destruction of the orthodox churches, and are destined hereafter, perhaps, to act as conspicuous a part in public affairs, as the children of Sion did in the time of Cromwell.

The sources from which we shall derive our extracts, are the Evangelical and Methodistical Magazines for the year 1807;—works which are said to be circulated to the amount of 18 or 20,000 each, every month; and which contain the sentiments of Arminian and Calvinistic methodists, and of the *evangelical* clergymen of the church of England. We shall use the general term

of Methodism, to designate these three classes of fanatics, not troubling ourselves to point out the finer shades, and nicer discriminations of lunacy, but treating them all as in one general conspiracy against common sense, and rational orthodox christianity.

In reading these very curious productions, we seemed to be in a new world, and to have got among a set of beings, of whose existence we had hardly before entertained the slightest conception. It has been our good fortune to be acquainted with many truly religious persons, both in the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches; and from their manly, rational, and serious characters, our conceptions of true practical piety have been formed. To these confined habits, and to our want of proper introductions among the children of light and grace, any degree of surprise is to be attributed, which may be excited by the publications before us; which, under opposite circumstances, would (we doubt not) have proved as great a source of instruction and delight to the Edinburgh reviewers, as they are to the most melodious votaries of the tabernacle.

It is not wantonly, or with the most distant intention of trifling upon serious subjects, that we call the attention of the public to these sort of publications. Their circulation is so enormous, and so increasing,—they contain the opinions, and display the habits of so many human beings,—that they cannot but be objects of curiosity and importance. The common and the middling classes of people are the purchasers; and the subject is religion,—though not that religion certainly which is established by law, and encouraged by national provision. This may lead to unpleasant consequences, or it may not; but it carries with it a sort of aspect, which ought to insure to it serious attention and reflection.

It is impossible to arrive at any knowledge of a religious sect, by merely detailing the settled articles of their belief: it may be the fashion of such a sect, to insist upon some articles very slightly; to bring forward others prominently; and to consider some portion of their formal creed as obsolete. As the knowledge of the jurisprudence of any country can never be obtained, by the perusal of volumes which contain some statutes that are daily enforced, and others that have been silently antiquated: in the same manner, the practice, the preaching, and the writing of sects, are comments absolutely necessary to render the perusal of their creed of any degree of utility.

It is the practice, we believe, with the orthodox, both in the Scotch and the English churches, to insist very rarely, and very discreetly, upon the particular instances of the interference of Divine Providence. They do not contend that the world is governed only by general laws,—that a Superintending Mind never inter-

feres for particular purposes; but such purposes are represented to be of a nature very awful and sublime,—when a guilty people are to be destroyed,—when an oppressed nation is to be lifted up, and some remarkable change introduced into the order and arrangement of the world. With this kind of theology we can have no quarrel; we bow to its truth; we are satisfied with the moderation which it exhibits; and we have no doubt of the salutary effect which it produces upon the human heart. Let us now come to those special cases of the interference of Providence as they are exhibited in the publications before us.

An interference with respect to the Rev. James Moody.

'Mr James Moody was descended from pious ancestors, who resided at Paisley;—his heart was devoted to music, dancing, and theatrical amusements; of the latter he was so fond, that he used to meet with some men of a similar cast to rehearse plays, and used to entertain a hope that he should make a figure upon the stage. To improve himself in music, he would rise very early, even in severely cold weather, and practise on the German flute: by his skill in music and singing, with his general powers of entertaining, he became a desireable companion: he would sometimes venture to profane the day of God, by turning it into a season of carnal pleasure; and would join in excursions on the water, to various parts of the vicinity of London. But the time was approaching, *when the Lord, who had designs of mercy for him, and for many others by his means, was about to stop him in his vain career of sin and folly.* There were two professing servants in the house where he lived; one of these was a porter, who, in brushing his clothes, would say, "Master James, this will never do—you must be otherwise employed—you must be a minister of the gospel." This worthy man, earnestly wishing his conversion, put into his hands that excellent book which God hath so much owned, *Allein's Alarm to the Unconverted.*

'About this time, it pleased God to visit him with a disorder in his eyes, occasioned, as it was thought, by his sitting up in the night to improve himself in drawing. The apprehension of losing his sight occasioned many serious reflections; his mind was impressed with the importance and necessity of seeking the salvation of his soul, and he was induced to attend the preaching of the gospel. The first sermon that he heard with a desire to profit, was at Spa-fields Chapel; a place which he had formerly frequented, when it was a temple of vanity and dissipation. Strong convictions of sin fixed on his mind; and he continued to attend the preached word, particularly at Tottenham-Court Chapel. Every sermon increased his sorrow and grief that he had not earlier sought the Lord. It was a considerable time before he found comfort from the gospel. He has stood in the free part of the chapel, hearing with such emotion, that the tears have flowed from his eyes, in torrents; and, when he has returned home, he has continued a great part of the night on his knees, praying over what he had heard.

The change effected by the power of the Holy Spirit on his heart,

XUM

now became visible to all. Nor did he halt between two opinions, as some persons do; he became at once a decided character, and gave up for ever all his vain pursuits and amusements; devoting himself with as much resolution and diligence to the service of God, as he had formerly done to folly.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 194.

An Interference respecting Cards.

'A clergyman not far distant from the spot on which these lines were written, was spending an evening,—not in his closet wrestling with his Divine Master for the communication of that grace which is so peculiarly necessary for the faithful discharge of the ministerial function,—not in his study searching the sacred oracles of divine truth for materials wherewith to prepare for his public exercises and feed the flock under his care,—not in pastoral visits to that flock, to inquire into the state of their souls, and endeavour, by his pious and affectionate conversation, to conciliate their esteem, and promote their edification, but at the *card table.*'—After stating that when it was his turn to deal, he dropt down dead, 'It is worthy of remark (says the writer) that within a very few years this was the third character in the neighbourhood which had been summoned from the card table to the bar of God.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 262.

Interference respecting Swearing,—a bee the instrument.

'A young man is stung by a bee, upon which he buffets the bees with his hat, uttering at the same time the most dreadful oaths and imprecations. In the midst of his fury, one of these little combatants stung him upon the tip of that unruly member (his tongue), which was then employed in blaspheming his Maker. Thus can the Lord engage one of the meanest of his creatures in reproving the bold transgressor who dares to take his name in vain.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 363.

Interference with respect to David Wright, who was cured of Atheism and Scrofula by one sermon of Mr Coles.

This case is too long to quote in the language and with the evidences of the writers. The substance of it is what our title implies.—David Wright was a man with scrophulous legs and atheistical principles;—being with difficulty persuaded to hear one sermon from Mr Coles, he limped to the church in extreme pain, and arrived there after great exertions;—during church time he was entirely converted, walked home with the greatest ease, and never after experienced the slightest return of scrofula or infidelity.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 444.

The displeasure of Providence is expressed at Captain Scott's going to preach in Mr Romaine's Chapel.

The sign of this displeasure is a violent storm of thunder and lightning just as he came in to town.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 537.

Interference with respect to an innkeeper who was destroyed for having appointed a cock-fight at the very time that the service was beginning at the Methodist Chapel.

"Never mind," says the innkeeper, "I'll get a greater congregation than the Methodist parson;—we'll have a cock-fight." But what is

man! how insignificant his designs, how impotent his strength, how ill-fated his plans, when opposed to that Being who is infinite in wisdom, boundless in power, terrible in judgment, and who frequently reverses, and suddenly renders abortive, the projects of the wicked! A few days after the avowal of his intention, the innkeeper sickened.' &c. &c. And then the narrator goes on to state, that his corpse was carried by the meeting-house, '*on the day, and exactly at the time*, the deceased had fixed for the cock-fight.'—*Meth. Mag.* p. 126.

In page 167 *Meth. Mag.*, a father, mother, three sons, and a sister, are destroyed by particular interposition.

In page 222 *Meth. Mag.*, a dancing-master is destroyed for irreligion,—another person for swearing at a cock-fight,—and a third for pretending to be deaf and dumb. These are called *recent and authentic accounts* of God's avenging providence.

So much for the miraculous interposition of Providence in cases where the Methodists are concerned: we shall now proceed to a few specimens of the energy of their religious feelings.

Mr Roberts's feelings in the month of May 1793.

'But, all this time, my soul was stayed upon God; my desires increased, and my mind was kept in a sweet praying frame, a going out of myself, as it were, and taking shelter in Him. Every breath I drew, ended in a prayer. I felt myself helpless as an infant, dependent upon God for all things. I was in a constant, daily expectation of receiving all I wanted; and, on Friday, May 31st, under Mr Rutherford's sermon, though entirely independent of it, (for I could not give any account of what he had been preaching about), I was given to feel that God was waiting to be very gracious to me; the spirit of prayer and supplication was given me, and such an assurance that I was accepted in the Beloved, as I cannot describe, but which I shall never forget.' *Meth. Mag.* p. 35.

Mrs Elizabeth Price and her attendants hear sacred music on a sudden.

'A few nights before her death, while some neighbours and her husband were sitting up with her, a sudden and joyful sound of music was heard by all present, *although some of them were carnal people:* at which time she thought she saw her crucified Saviour before her, speaking these words with power to her soul, "Thy sins are forgiven thee, and I love thee freely." After this she never doubted of her acceptance with God; and on Christmas day following, was taken to celebrate the Redeemer's birth in the Paradise of God. MICHAEL COUSIN.' *Meth. Mag.* 137.

T. L. a Sailor on board the Stag frigate, has a special revelation from our Saviour.

'October 26th, being the Lord's day, he had a remarkable manifestation of God's love to his soul. That blessed morning, he was much grieved by hearing the wicked use profane language, when Jesus revealed himself to him, and impressed on his mind those words, "Follow Me." This was a precious day to him.'—*Meth. Mag.* 140.

The manner in which Mr Thomas Cook was accustomed to accost S. B.

'Whenever he met me in the street, his salutation used to be, "Have you free and lively intercourse with God to day? Are you giving your whole heart to God?" I have known him on such occasions speak in so pertinent a manner, that I have been astonished at his knowledge of my state. Meeting me one morning, he said, "I have been praying for you: you have had a sore conflict, though all is well now." At another time he asked, "Have you been much exercised these few days, for I have been led to pray that you might especially have suffering grace."—*Meth. Mag.* p. 247.

Mr John Kestin on his Deathbed.

"Oh, my dear, I am now going to glory, happy, happy, happy. I am going to sing praises to God and the Lamb; I am going to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I think I can see my Jesus without a glass between. I can, I feel I can, discern 'my title clear to mansions in the skies.' Come, Lord Jesus, come! why are thy chariot-wheels so long delaying?"—*Ev. Mag.* p. 124.

The Reverend Mr Mead's sorrow for his sins.

'This wrought him up to temporary desperation; his inexpressible grief poured itself forth in groans: "O that I had never sinned against God! I have a hell here upon earth, and there is a hell for me in eternity!" One Lord's day, very early in the morning, he was awoke by a tempest of thunder and lightning; and imagining it to be the end of the world, his agony was great, supposing the great day of divine wrath was come, and he unprepared; but happy to find it not so.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 147.

Similar Case of Mr John Robinson.

'About two hours before he died, he was in great agony of body and mind: it appeared that the enemy was permitted to struggle with him; and being greatly agitated, he cried out, "Ye powers of darkness, begone!" This, however, did not last long: "the prey was taken from the mighty, and the lawful captive delivered," although he was not permitted to tell of his deliverance, but lay quite still and composed.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 177.

The Reverend William Tennant in an Heavenly Trance.

"While I was conversing with my brother," said he, "on the state of my soul, and the fears I had entertained for my future welfare, I found myself, in an instant, in another state of existence, under the direction of a superior being, who ordered me to follow him. I was accordingly wafted along, I know not how, till I beheld at a distance an ineffable glory, the impression of which on my mind it is impossible to communicate to mortal man. I immediately reflected on my happy change; and thought, Well, blessed be God! I am safe at last, notwithstanding all my fears. I saw an innumerable host of happy beings surrounding the inexpressible glory, in acts of adoration and joyous worship; but I did not see any bodily shape or representation in the

glorious appearance. I heard things unutterable. I heard their songs and hallelujahs of thanksgiving and praise, with unspeakable rapture. I felt joy unutterable and full of glory. I then applied to my conductor, and requested leave to join the happy throng.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 251.

The following we consider to be one of the most shocking histories we ever read. God only knows how many such scenes take place in the gloomy annals of Methodism.

'A young man, of the name of S—— C——, grandson to a late eminent Dissenting minister, and brought up by him, came to reside at K——g, about the year 1803. He attended at the Baptist place of worship, not only on the Lord's Day, but frequently at the week-day lectures and prayer-meetings. He was supposed by some to be seriously inclined; but his opinion of himself was, that he had never experienced that divine change, without which no man can be saved.

'However that might be, there is reason to believe he had been for some years under powerful convictions of his miserable condition as a sinner. In June 1806, these convictions were observed to increase, and that in a more than common degree. From that time he went into no company; but, when he was not at work, kept in his chamber, where he was employed in singing plaintive hymns, and bewailing his lost and perishing state.

'He had about him several religious people; but could not be induced to open his mind to them, or to impart to any one the cause of his distress. Whether this contributed to increase it or not, it did increase, till his health was greatly affected by it, and he was scarcely able to work at his business.

'While he was at meeting on Lord's Day, September 14, he was observed to labour under very great emotion of mind, especially when he heard the following words. "Sinner, if you die without an interest in Christ, you will sink into the regions of eternal death."

'On the Saturday evening following, he intimated to the mistress of the house where he lodged, that some awful judgment was about to come upon him; and as he should not be able to be at meeting next day, requested that an attendant might be procured to stay with him. She replied, that she would herself stay at home, and wait upon him; which she did.

'On the Lord's day he was in great agony of mind. His mother was sent for, and some religious friends visited him; but all was of no avail. That night was a night dreadful beyond conception. The horror which he endured brought on all the symptoms of raging madness. He desired the attendants not to come near him, lest they should be burnt. He said that "the bed-curtains were in flames,—that he smelt the brimstone,—that devils were come to fetch him,—that there was no hope for him, for that he had sinned against light and conviction, and that he should certainly go to hell." It was with difficulty he could be kept in bed.

'An apothecary being sent for, as soon as he entered the house, and heard his dreadful howlings, he inquired if he had not been bitten by a mad dog. His appearance, likewise, seemed to justify such a suspicion, his countenance resembling that of a wild beast more than that of a man.

'Though he had no feverish heat, yet his pulse beat above 150 in a minute. To abate the *mania*, a quantity of blood was taken from him, a blister was applied, his head was shaved, cold water was copiously poured over him, and fox-glove was administered. By these means his fury was abated; but his mental agony continued, and all the symptoms of madness which his bodily strength, thus reduced, would allow, till the following Thursday. On that day he seemed to have recovered his reason, and to be calm in his mind. In the evening he sent for the apothecary; and wished to speak with him by himself. The latter, on his coming, desired every one to leave the room, and thus addressed him. "C——, have you not something on your mind?" 'Aye,' answered he, '*that is it!*' He then acknowledged that, early in the month of June, he had gone to a fair in the neighbourhood, in company with a number of wicked young men; that they drank at a public-house together till he was in a measure intoxicated; and that from thence they went into other company, where he was criminally connected with a harlot. "I have been a miserable creature," continued he, "ever since; but during the last three days and three nights, I have been in a state of desperation." He intimated to the apothecary, that he could not bear to tell this story to his minister: "But," said he, "do you inform him that I shall not die in despair; for light has broken in upon me: I have been led to the great Sacrifice for sin, and I now hope in him for salvation."

'From this time his mental distress ceased, his countenance became placid, and his conversation, instead of being taken up as before with fearful exclamations concerning devils and the wrath to come, was now confined to the dying love of Jesus! The apothecary was of opinion, that if his strength had not been so much exhausted, he would now have been in a state of religious transport. His nervous system, however, had received such a shock, that his recovery was doubtful; and it seemed certain, that if he did recover, he would sink into a state of idiocy. He survived this interview but a few days.' *Ev. Mag.* 412–13.

A religious observer stands at a turnpike gate on a Sunday to witness the profane crowd passing by; he sees a man driving very clumsily in a gig;—the inexperience of the driver provokes the following pious observations.

"What (I said to myself) if a single untoward circumstance should happen! Should the horse take fright, or the wheel on either side get entangled, or the gig upset,—in either case what can preserve them? And should a morning so fair and promising bring on evil before night, —should death on his pale horse appear,—what follows?" My mind shuddered at the images I had raised.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 558–59.

Miss Louisa Cooke's rapturous state.

'From this period she lived chiefly in retirement, either in reading the sacred volume on her knees, or in pouring out her soul in prayer to God. While thus employed, she was not unfrequently indulged with visits from her gracious Lord; and sometimes felt herself to be surrounded, as it were, by his glorious presence. After her return to Bristol, her frame of mind became so heavenly, that she seemed often to be dissolved in the love of God her Saviour.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 576–77.

Objection to Almanacks.

'Let those who have been partial to such vain productions, only read Isaiah xlvii. 13, and Daniel ii. 27.; and they will there see what they are to be accounted of, and in what company they are to be found; and let them learn to despise their equivocal and artful insinuations, which are too frequently blended with profanity; for is it not profanity in them to attempt to palm their frauds upon mankind by Scripture quotations, which they seldom fail to do, especially Judges v. 20, and Job xxxviii. 31.? neither of which teaches nor warrants any such practice. Had Baruch or Deborah consulted the stars? No such thing.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 600.

This energy of feeling will be found occasionally to meddle with, and disturb the ordinary occupations and amusements of life, and to raise up little qualms of conscience, which, instead of exciting respect, border, we fear, somewhat too closely upon the ludicrous.

A Methodist Footman.

'A gentleman's servant, who has left a good place because he was ordered to deny his master when actually at home, wishes something on this subject may be introduced into this work, that persons who are in the habit of denying themselves in the above manner may be convinced of its evil.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 72.

Doubts if it is right to take any Interest for Money.

'*Usury.*—Sir, I beg the favour of you to insert the following case of conscience. I frequently find in Scripture, that *Usury* is particularly condemned; and that it is represented as the character of a good man, that "he hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase," Ezek. xviii. 8, &c. I wish, therefore, to know how such passages are to be understood; and whether the taking of interest for money, as is universally practised among us, can be reconciled with the word and will of God? Q.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 74.

Dancing ill suited to a Creature on Trial for Eternity.

'If dancing be a waste of time; if the precious hours devoted to it may be better employed; if it be a species of trifling ill suited to a creature on trial for eternity, and hastening towards it on the swift wings of time; if it be incompatible with genuine repentance, true faith in Christ, supreme love to God, and a state of entire devotedness to him,—then is dancing a practice utterly opposed to the whole spirit and temper of Christianity, and subversive of the best interests of the rising generation.' *Meth. Mag.* p. 127–28.

XUM

The Methodists consider themselves as constituting a chosen and separate people, living in a land of atheists and voluptuaries. The expressions by which they designate their own sects, are, the *dear people*—the *elect*—the *people of God.* The rest of mankind are *carnal people—the people of this world*, &c. &c. The children of Israel were not more separated, through the favour of God, from the Egyptians, than the Methodists are, in their own estimation, from the rest of mankind. We had hitherto supposed that the disciples of the Established Churches in England and Scotland had been Christians; and that, after baptism, duly performed by the appointed minister, and participation in the customary worship of these two churches, Christianity was the religion of which they were to be considered as members. We see, however, in these publications, men of twenty or thirty years of age first called to a knowledge of Christ *under a sermon* by the Rev. Mr Venn,—or first admitted into the church of Christ *under a sermon* by the Rev. Mr Romaine. The apparent admission turns out to have been a mere mockery; and the pseudo-christian to have had no religion at all, till the business was really and effectually done under these sermons by Mr Venn and Mr Romaine.

An awful and general departure from the Christian Faith in the Church of England.

'A second volume of Mr Cooper's sermons is before us, stamped with the same broad seal of truth and excellence as the former. Amidst the awful and general departure from the faith, as once delivered to the saints in the church of England, and sealed by the blood of our Reformers, it is pleasing to observe, that there is a remnant, according to the election of grace, who continue rising up to testify the gospel of the grace of God, and to call back their fellows to the consideration of the great and leading doctrines on which the Reformation was built, and the church of England by law established. The author of these sermons, avoiding all matters of more doubtful disputation, avowedly attaches himself to the great fundamental truths; and on the two substantial pillars, the Jachin and Boaz of the living temple, erects his superstructure. 1. Justification by faith, without works, free and full, by grace alone, through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ, stands at the commencement of the first volume; and on its side rises in the beauty of holiness,' &c. *Ev. Mag.* p. 79.

Mr Robinson called to the Knowledge of Christ under Mr Venn's Sermon.

'Mr Robinson was called in early life to the knowledge of Christ, under a sermon at St Dunstan's, by the late Rev. Mr Venn, from Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26; the remembrance of which greatly refreshed his soul upon his deathbed.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 176.

Christianity introduced into the Parish of Launton, near Bicester, in the year 1807.

'A very general spirit of inquiry having appeared for some time in

the village of Launton, near Bicester, some serious persons were excited to communicate to them the word of life.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 380.

We learn in page 128, *Meth. Mag.*, that twelve months had elapsed from the time of Mrs Cocker's joining *the people of God*, before she obtained a clear sense of forgiveness.

A Religious Hoy sets off every week for Margate.

'*Religious Passengers accommodated.*—*To the Editor.*—Sir, it afforded me considerable pleasure to see upon the cover of your Magazine for the present month, an advertisement, announcing the establishment of a packet, to sail weekly, between London and Margate, during the season; which appears to have been set on foot for the accommodation of religious characters; and in which "no profane conversation is to be allowed."

'To those among the followers of a crucified Redeemer, who are in the habit of visiting the Isle of Thanet in the summer, and who, for the sea air, or from other considerations, prefer travelling by water, such a conveyance must certainly be a *desideratum*, especially if they have experienced a mortification similar to that of the writer, in the course of the last summer, when shut up in a cabin with a mixed multitude, who spake almost all languages but that of Canaan. Totally unconnected with the concern, and personally a stranger to the worthy owner, I take the liberty of recommending this vessel to the notice of my fellow-Christians; persuaded that they will think themselves bound to patronize and encourage an undertaking that has the honour of the dear Redeemer for its professed object. It ought ever to be remembered, that every talent we possess, whether large or small, is given us in trust to be laid out for God;—and I have often thought that Christians act inconsistently with their high profession, when they omit, even in their most common and trivial expenditures, to give a decided preference to the friends of their Lord. I do not, however, anticipate any such ground of complaint in this instance; but rather believe, that the religious world in general will cheerfully unite with me, while I most cordially wish success to the Princess of Wales Yacht, and pray that she may ever sail under the divine protection and blessing!—that the humble followers of Him who spoke the storm into a calm, when crossing the lake of Gennesareth, may often feel their hearts glowing with sacred ardour, while in her cabins they enjoy sweet communion with their Lord and with each other;—and that strangers, who may be providentially brought among them, may see so much of the beauty and excellency of the religion of Jesus exemplified in their conduct and conversation, that they may be constrained to say, "We will go with you, for we perceive that God is with you.—Your God shall be our God, and his people shall henceforth be our chosen companions and associates." I am, Mr Editor, your obliged friend and sister in the gospel, E. T.' *Ev. Mag.* p. 268.

A religious Newspaper is announced in the Ev. M. for September.—It is said of common newspapers, 'That *they are absorbed in ten-*

poral concerns, while the consideration of those which are eternal is postponed; the business of this life has superseded the claims of immortality; and the monarchs of the world have engrossed an attention which would have been more properly devoted to the Saviour of the universe.' It is then stated, 'that the columns of this paper (*The Instructor, Price 6d.*) will be supplied by pious reflections; suitable comments to improve the dispensations of Providence will be introduced; and the whole conducted with an eye to our spiritual, as well as temporal welfare. The work will contain the latest news up to four o'clock on the day of publication, together with the most recent religious occurrences. The prices of stock, and correct market-tables, will also be accurately detailed.'—*Ev. Mag. September Advertisement.* The Eclectic Review is also understood to be carried on upon Methodistical principles.

Nothing can evince more strongly the influence which Methodism now exercises upon common life, and the fast hold it has got of the people, than the advertisements which are circulated every month in these very singular publications. On the cover of a single number, for example, we have the following—

'Wanted by Mr Turner, shoemaker, a steady apprentice; he will have the privilege of attending the ministry of the gospel;—a premium expected, p. 3.—Wanted, a serious young woman, as servant of all work, 3.—Wanted, a man of serious character, who can shave, 3.—Wanted, a serious woman to assist in a shop, 3.—A young person in the millinery line wishes to be in a serious family, 4.—Wants a place, a young man who has brewed in a serious family, 4.—Ditto a young woman of evangelical principles, 4.—Wanted an active serious shopman, 5.—To be sold, an eligible residence, with 60 acres of land; gospel preached in three places within half a mile, 5.—A single gentleman may be accommodated with lodging in a small serious family, 5.—To let, a genteel first floor in an airy situation near the Tabernacle, 6.—Wanted, a governess, of evangelical principles and corresponding character, 10.—The religious vessel, we have before spoken of, is thus advertised,—"The Princess of Wales Yacht, J. Chapman, W. Bourn, master, by divine permission, will leave Ralph's Quay every Friday, 11." &c. &c.—*July Ev. Mag.*

After the specimens we have given of these people, any thing which is said of their activity can very easily be credited. The Army and Navy appear to be particular objects of their attention.

'*British Navy.*—It is with peculiar pleasure we insert the following extract of a letter from the pious Chaplain of a Man of War, to a Gentleman at Gosport, intimating the power and grace of God manifested towards our brave Seamen. "*Off Cadiz, Nov.* 26. 1806.—My dear friend—A fleet for England found us in the night, and is just going away. I have only time to tell you that the work of God seems to prosper. Many are under convictions;—some, I trust, are converted. I

preach every night, and am obliged to have a private meeting afterwards with those who wish to speak about their souls. But my own health is suffering much, nor shall I probably be able long to bear it. The ship is like a tabernacle; and really there is much external reformation. Capt. —— raises no objection. I have near a hundred hearers every night at six o'clock. How unworthy am I!—Pray for us.'—*Ev. M.* 84.

The Testimony of a Profane Officer to the Worth of Pious Sailors.

'Mr Editor—In the mouth of two or three witnesses a truth shall be established. I recently met with a pleasing confirmation of a narrative, stated some time since in your Magazine. I was surprised by a visit from an old acquaintance of mine the other day, who is now an officer of rank in his Majesty's navy. In the course of conversation, I was shocked at the profane oaths that perpetually interrupted his sentences; and took an opportunity to express my regret that such language should be so common among so valuable a body of men. "Sir," said he, still interspersing many solemn imprecations, "an officer cannot live at sea without swearing;—not one of my men would mind a word without an oath; it is common sea-language. If we were not to swear, the rascals would take us for lubbers, stare in our faces, and leave us to do our commands ourselves. I never knew but one exception; and that was extraordinary. I declare, believe me 'tis true (suspecting that I might not credit it), there was a set of fellows called *Methodists*, on board the Victory, Lord Nelson's ship (to be sure he was rather a religious man himself!) and those men never wanted swearing at. The dogs were the best seamen on board. Every man *knew* his duty, and every man *did* his duty. They used to meet together and sing hymns; and nobody dared molest them. The commander would not have suffered it, had they attempted it. They were allowed a mess by themselves; and never mixed with the other men. I have often heard them singing away myself; and 'tis true, I assure you, but not one of them was either killed or wounded at the battle of Trafalgar, though they did their duty as well as any men. No, not one of the psalm-singing gentry was even hurt; and there the fellows are swimming away in the Bay of Biscay at this very time, singing like the d——. They are now under a new commander; but still are allowed the same privileges, and mess by themselves. These were the only fellows that I ever knew do their duty without swearing; and I will do them the justice to say they do it." J. C.—*Ev. Mag.* p. 119, 120.

These people are spread over the face of the whole earth in the shape of missionaries.—Upon the subject of missions, we shall say very little or nothing at present, because we reserve it for another article in a subsequent Number. But we cannot help remarking the magnitude of the collections made in favour of the missionaries at the Methodistical chapels, when compared with the collections for any common object of charity in the orthodox churches and chapels.

'*Religious Tract Society.*—A most satisfactory Report was presented

by the Committee; from which it appeared, that ſince the commencement of the Inſtitution in the year 1799, upwards of *Four Millions* of Religious Tracts have been iſſued under the auſpices of the Society; and that conſiderably more than one fourth of that number have been ſold during the laſt year.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 284.

These tracts are dropped in villages by the Methodists, and thus every chance for conversion afforded to the common people. There is a proposal in one of the numbers of the volumes before us, that travellers, for every pound they spend on the road, should fling one shilling's worth of these tracts out of the chaise window;—thus taxing his pleasures at *5 per cent.* for the purposes of doing good.

'Every Chriſtian who expects the protection and bleſſing of God, ought to take with him as many *shillings worth*, at leaſt, of cheap Tracts to throw on the road, and leave at inns, as he takes out *pounds* to expend on himſelf and family. This is really but a trifling ſacrifice. It is a highly reaſonable one; and one which God will accept.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 405.

It is part of their Policy to have a great change of Ministers.

'Same day, the Rev. W. Haward, from Hoxton Academy, was ordained over the Independent church at Rendham, Suffolk. Mr Pickles of Walpole, began with prayer and reading; Mr Price, of Woodbridge, delivered the introductory diſcourſe, and aſked the queſtions; Mr Dennant, of Haleſworth, offered the ordination prayer; *Mr Shufflebottom, of Bungay, gave the charge* from Acts xx. 28.; Mr Vincent, of Deal, the general prayer; and Mr Walford, of Yarmouth, preached to the people from 2 Phil. ii. 16.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 429.

Chapels opened.—'Hambledon, Bucks, Sept. 22.—Eighteen months ago this pariſh was deſtitute of the goſpel: the people have now one of the Rev. G. Colliſon's ſtudents, the Rev. Mr Eaſtmead, ſettled among them. Mr Engliſh of Wooburn, and Mr Frey preached on the occaſion; and Mr Jones, of London, Mr Churchill, of Henley, Mr Redford, of Windſor, and Mr Barratt, now of Petersfield, prayed.'—*Ev. Mag.* p. 533.

Methodism in his Majesty's Ship Tonnant—a Letter from the Sail-maker.

'It is with great ſatisfaction that I can now inform you God has deigned, in a yet greater degree, to own the weak efforts of his ſervant to turn many from Satan to himſelf. Many are called here, as is plain to be ſeen by their penſive looks and deep ſighs. And if they would be obedient to the heavenly call, inſtead of grieving the Spirit of grace, I dare ſay we ſhould ſoon have near half the ſhip's company brought to God. I doubt not, however, but, as I have caſt my bread upon the waters, it will be found after many days. Our 13 are now increaſed to upwards of 30. Surely the Lord delighteth not in the death of him that dieth.'—*Meth. Mag.* p. 188.

It appears also, from p. 139 *Meth. Mag.*, that the same prin-

ciples prevail on board his Majesty's ship Seahorse, 44 guns. And in one part of the *Evan. Mag.* great hopes are entertained of the 25th regiment. We believe this is the number; but we quote this fact from memory.

We must remember, in addition to these trifling specimens of their active disposition, that the Methodists have found a powerful party in the House of Commons, who, by the neutrality which they affect, and partly adhere to, are courted both by ministers and opposition; that they have gained complete possession of the India-House; and under the pretence, or perhaps with the serious intention of educating young people for India, will take care to introduce (as much as they dare without provoking attention) their own peculiar tenets. In fact, one thing must always be taken for granted respecting these people,—that wherever they gain a footing, or whatever be the institutions to which they give birth, *proselytism will be their main object;* every thing else is a mere instrument—this is their principal aim. When every proselyte is not only an addition to their temporal power, but when the act of conversion which gains a vote, saves (as they suppose) a soul from destruction,—it is quite needless to state, that every faculty of their minds will be dedicated to this most important of all temporal and eternal concerns.

Their attack upon the Church is not merely confined to publications; it is generally understood that they have a very considerable fund for the purchase of livings, to which, of course, ministers of their own profession are always presented.

Upon the foregoing facts, and upon the spirit evinced by these extracts, we shall make a few comments.

1. It is obvious, that this description of Christians entertain very erroneous and dangerous notions of the present judgments of God. A belief, that Providence interferes in all the little actions of our lives, refers all merit and demerit to bad and good fortune; and causes the successful man to be always considered as a good man, and the unhappy man as the object of divine vengeance. It furnishes ignorant and designing men with a power which is sure to be abused:—the cry of, a *judgment*, a *judgment*, it is always easy to make, but not easy to resist. It encourages the grossest superstitions; for if the Deity rewards and punishes on every slight occasion, it is quite impossible, but that such an helpless being as man, will set himself at work to discover the will of Heaven in the appearances of outward nature, and to apply all the phenomena of thunder, lightning, wind, and every striking appearance, to the regulation of his conduct; as the poor Methodist, when he rode into Piccadilly in a thunder storm, and imagined that all the uproar of the elements was a mere hint to him not to preach at Mr Romaine's

chapel. Hence a great deal of error, and a great deal of secret misery. This doctrine of a theocracy must necessarily place an excessive power in the hands of the clergy: It applies so instantly and so tremendously to men's hopes and fears, that it must make the priest omnipotent over the people, as it always has done where it has been established. It has a great tendency to check human exertions, and to prevent the employment of those secondary means of effecting an object which Providence has placed in our power. The doctrine of the immediate, and perpetual interference of Divine providence, is not true. If two men travel the same road, the one to rob, the other to relieve a fellow-creature who is starving; will any but the most fanatic contend, that they do not both run the same chance of falling over a stone, and breaking their legs? and is it not matter of fact, that the robber often returns safe, and the just man sustains the injury? Have not the soundest divines of both churches, always urged this unequal distribution of good and evil, in the present state, as one of the strongest natural arguments for a future state of retribution? Have not they contended, and well, and admirably contended, that the supposition of such a state is absolutely necessary to our notion of the justice of God,—absolutely necessary to restore order to that moral confusion which we all observe and deplore in the present world? The man who places religion upon a false basis, is the greatest enemy to religion. If victory is always to the just and good,—how is the fortune of impious conquerors to be accounted for? Why do they erect dynasties, and found families which last for centuries? The reflecting mind whom you have instructed in this manner, and for present effect only, naturally comes upon you hereafter with difficulties of this sort; he finds he has been deceived; and you will soon discover that, in breeding up a fanatic, you have unwittingly laid the foundation of an atheist. The honest and the orthodox method, is to prepare young people for the world, as it actually exists; to tell them that they will often find vice perfectly successful; virtue exposed to a long train of afflictions; that they must bear this patiently, and look to another world for its rectification.

2. The second doctrine which it is necessary to notice among the Methodists, is the doctrine of inward impulse and emotions, which, it is quite plain, must lead, if universally insisted upon, and preached among the common people, to every species of folly and enormity. When an human being believes that his internal feelings are the monitions of God, and that these monitions must govern his conduct; and when a great stress is purposely laid upon these inward feelings in all the discourses from the pulpit; it is, of course, impossible to say to what a pitch of extravagance mankind may not be carried, under the influence of such dangerous doctrines.

3. The Methodists hate pleasure and amusements; no theatre, no cards, no dancing, no punchinello, no dancing dogs, no blind fiddlers;—all the amusements of the rich and of the poor must disappear, wherever these gloomy people get a footing. It is not the abuse of pleasure which they attack, but the interspersion of pleasure, however much it is guarded by good sense and moderation;—it is not only wicked to hear the licentious plays of Congreve, but wicked to hear Henry the Vth, or the School for Scandal;—it is not only dissipated to run about to all the parties in London and Edinburgh,—but dancing is not *fit for a being who is preparing himself for eternity.* *Ennui*, wretchedness, melancholy, groans and sighs are the offerings which these unhappy men make to a Deity, who has covered the earth with gay colours, and scented it with rich perfumes; and shown us, by the plan and order of his works, that he has given to man something better than a bare existence, and scattered over his creation a thousand superfluous joys, which are totally unnecessary to the mere support of life.

4. The Methodists lay very little stress upon practical righteousness. They do not say to their people, do not be deceitful; do not be idle; get rid of your bad passions; or at least (if they do say these things) they say them very seldom. Not that they preach faith without works; for if they told the people, that they might rob and murder with impunity, the civil magistrate must be compelled to interfere with such doctrine:—but they say a great deal about faith, and very little about works. What are commonly called the mysterious parts of our religion, are brought into the fore-ground, much more than the doctrines which lead to practice;—and this among the lowest of the community.

The Methodists have hitherto been accused of dissenting from the Church of England. This, as far as relates to mere subscription to articles, is not true; but they differ in their choice of the articles upon which they dilate and expand, and to which they appear to give a preference, from the stress which they place upon them. There is nothing heretical in saying, that God *sometimes* intervenes with his special providence; but these people differ from the Established Church, in the degree in which they insist upon this doctrine. In the hands of a man of sense and education, it is a safe doctrine;—in the management of the Methodists, we have seen how ridiculous and degrading it becomes. In the same manner, a clergyman of the Church of England would not do his duty, if he did not insist upon the necessity of faith, as well as of good works; but as he believes that it is much more easy to give credit to doctrines, than to live well, he labours most in those points where human nature is the *most* liable to prove defective. Because he does so, he is accused of giving up the

articles of his faith, by men who have their partialities also in doctrine; but partialities, not founded upon the same sound discretion, and knowledge of human nature.

5. The Methodists are always desirous of making men more religious, than it is possible, from the constitution of human nature, to make them. If they could succeed as much as they wish to succeed, there would be at once an end of delving and spinning, and of every exertion of human industry. Men must eat, and drink, and work; and if you wish to fix upon them high and elevated notions, as the *ordinary* furniture of their minds, you do these two things;—you drive men of warm temperaments mad,—and you introduce, in the rest of the world, a low and shocking familiarity with words and images, which every real friend to religion would wish to keep sacred. *The friends of the dear Redeemer who are in the habit of visiting the Isle of Thanet*—(as in the extract we have quoted)—Is it possible that this mixture of the most awful, with the most familiar images, so common among Methodists now, and with the enthusiasts in the time of Cromwell, must not, in the end, divest religion of all the deep and solemn impressions which it is calculated to produce? In a man of common imagination (as we have before observed) the terror, and the feeling which it first excited, must necessarily be soon separated: but, where the fervour of impression is long preserved, piety ends in bedlam. Accordingly, there is not a mad-house in England, where a considerable part of the patients have not been driven to insanity by the extravagance of these people. We cannot enter such places without seeing a number of honest artisans, covered with blankets, and calling themselves angels and apostles, who, if they had remained contented with the instruction of men of learning and education, would still have been sound masters of their own trade, sober christians, and useful members of society.

6. It is impossible not to observe how directly all the doctrine of the Methodists is calculated to gain power among the poor and ignorant. To say, that the Deity governs this world by general rules, and that we must wait for another, and a final scene of existence, before vice meets with its merited punishment, and virtue with its merited reward; to preach this up daily, would not add a single votary to the Tabernacle, nor sell a Number of the Methodistical Magazine:—But, to publish an account of a man who was cured of scrofula by a single sermon—of Providence destroying the innkeeper at Garstang for appointing a cock-fight near the Tabernacle;—this promptness of judgment and immediate execution, is so much like human justice, and so much better adapted to vulgar capacities, that the system is at once ad-

mitted, as soon as any one can be found, who is impudent or ignorant enough to teach it; and, being once admitted, it produces too strong an effect upon the passions, to be easily relinquished. The case is the same with the doctrine of inward impulse, or as they term it, experience. If you preach up to ploughmen and artisans, that every singular feeling which comes across them is a visitation of the Divine Spirit—can there be any difficulty, *under* the influence of this nonsense, in converting these simple creatures into active and mysterious fools, and making them your slaves for life? It is not possible to raise up any dangerous enthusiasm, by telling men to be just, and good, and charitable; but, keep this part of christianity out of sight—and talk long and enthusiastically, before ignorant people, of the mysteries of our religion, and you will not fail to attract a crowd of followers:—verily the Tabernacle loveth not that which is simple, intelligible, and leadeth to good sound practice.

Having endeavoured to point out the spirit which pervades these people, we shall say a few words upon the causes, the effects, and the cure of this calamity.—The fanaticism so prevalent in the present day, is one of those evils from which society is never wholly exempt; but which bursts out at different periods, with peculiar violence, and sometimes overwhelms every thing in its course. The last eruption took place about a century and a half ago, and destroyed both Church and Throne with its tremendous force. Though irresistible, it was short; enthusiasm spent its force—the usual reaction took place; and England was deluged with ribaldry and indecency, because it had been worried with fanatical restrictions. By degrees however it was found out, that orthodoxy and loyalty might be secured by other methods than licentious conduct and immodest conversation. The public morals improved; and there appeared as much good sense and moderation upon the subject of religion, as ever can be expected from mankind in large masses. Still, however, the mischief which the Puritans had done was not forgotten; a general suspicion prevailed of the dangers of religious enthusiasm; and the fanatical preacher wanted his accustomed power among a people recently recovered from a religious war, and guarded by songs, proverbs, popular stories, and the general tide of humour and opinion, against all excesses of that nature. About the middle of the last century, however, the character of the genuine fanatic was a good deal forgotten, and the memory of the civil wars worn away; the field was clear for extravagance in piety; and causes, which must always produce an immense influence upon the mind of man, were left to their own unimpeded operations. Religion is so noble and powerful a consideration

—it is so buoyant and so insubmergible—that it may be made, by fanatics, to carry with it any degree of error and of perilous absurdity. In this instance Messrs Whitfield and Wesley happened to begin. They were men of considerable talents; they observed the common decorums of life; they did not run naked into the streets, or pretend to the prophetical character;—and therefore, they were not committed to Newgate. They preached with great energy to weak people; who first stared—then listened—then believed—then felt the inward feeling of grace, and became as foolish as their teachers could possibly wish them to be:—in short, folly ran its ancient course,—and human nature evinced itself to be, what it always has been under similar circumstances. The great and permanent cause, therefore, of the increase of Methodism, is the cause which has given birth to fanaticism in all ages,—*the facility of mingling human errors with the fundamental truths of religion.* The formerly imperfect residence of the clergy may perhaps, in some trifling degree, have aided this source of Methodism. But unless a man of education, and a gentleman, could stoop to such disingenuous arts as the Methodist preachers,—unless he hears heavenly music all of a sudden, and enjoys *sweet experiences*,—it is quite impossible that he can contend against such artists as these. More active than they are at present, the clergy might perhaps be; but the calmness and moderation of an Establishment can never possibly be a match for sectarian activity.—If the common people are *ennui'd* with the fine acting of Mrs Siddons, they go to Saddlers Wells. The subject is too serious for ludicrous comparisons:—but the Tabernacle really is to the Church, what Saddlers Wells is to the Drama. There, popularity is gained by vaulting and tumbling,—by low arts, which the regular clergy are not too idle to have recourse to, but too dignified: their institutions are chaste and severe,—they endeavour to do that which, *upon the whole, and for a great number of years*, will be found to be the most admirable and the most useful: it is no part of their plan to descend to small artifices, for the sake of present popularity and effect. The religion of the common people under the government of the Church, may remain as it is for ever;—enthusiasm must be progressive, or it will expire.

It is probable that the dreadful scenes which have lately been acted in the world, and the dangers to which we are exposed, have increased the numbers of the Methodists.

To what degree will Methodism extend in this country? —This question is not easy to answer. That it has rapidly increased within these few years, we have no manner of doubt; and we confess we cannot see what is likely to impede its pro-

gress. The party which it has formed in the Legislature, and the artful neutrality with which they give respectability to their small number,—the talents of some of this party, and the unimpeached excellence of their characters, all make it probable that fanaticism will increase, rather than diminish. The Methodists have made an alarming inroad into the Church, and they are attacking the Army and Navy. The principality of Wales, and the East India Company, they have already acquired. All mines and subterraneous places belong to them; they creep into hospitals and small schools, and so work their way upwards. It is the custom of the religious neutrals to beg all the little livings, particularly in the north of England, from the minister for the time being; and from these fixed points they make incursions upon the happiness and common sense of the vicinage. We most sincerely deprecate such an event; but it will excite in us no manner of surprise, if a period arrives when the churches of the sober and orthodox part of the English clergy, are completely deserted by the middling and lower classes of the community. We do not prophecy any such event; but we contend, that it is not impossible,—hardly improbable. If such, in future, should be the situation of this country, it is impossible to say what political animosities may not be ingrafted upon this marked and dangerous division of mankind into the *godly*, and the *ungodly*. At all events, we are quite sure that happiness will be destroyed, reason degraded, sound religion banished from the world; and that when fanaticism becomes too foolish and too prurient to be endured, (as is at last sure to be the case), it will be succeeded by a long period of the grossest immorality, atheism, and debauchery.

We are not sure that this evil admits of any cure,—or of any considerable palliation. We most sincerely hope that the Government of this country will never be guilty of such indiscretion as to tamper with the Toleration Act, or to attempt to put down these follies by the intervention of the law. If experience has taught us any thing, it is the absurdity of controuling men's notions of eternity by acts of Parliament. Something may perhaps be done, in the way of ridicule, towards turning the popular opinion. It may be as well to extend the privileges of the dissenters to the members of the Church of England; for, as the law now stands, any man who dissents from the established church may open a place of worship where he pleases. No orthodox clergyman can do so, without the consent of the parson of the parish,—who always refuses, because he does not chuse to have his monopoly disturbed; and refuses, in parishes where there are not accommodations for one half of the persons who wish to

frequent the Church of England, and in instances where he knows that the chapels from which he excludes the established worship, will be immediately occupied by sectaries. It may be as well to encourage in the early education of the clergy, as Mr Ingram recommends, a better and more animated method of preaching; and it may be necessary, hereafter, if the evil gets to a great height, to relax the articles of the English church, and to admit a greater variety of Christians within the pale. The greatest and best of all remedies, is perhaps the education of the poor;—we are astonished, that the Established church in England is not awake to this mean of arresting the progress of Methodism. Of course, none of these things will be done; nor is it *clear*, if they were done, that they would do *much* good. Whatever happens, we are for common sense and orthodoxy. Insolence, servile politics, and the spirit of persecution, we condemn and attack, whenever we observe them;—but to the learning, the moderation, and the rational piety of the Establishment, we most earnestly wish a decided victory over the nonsense, the melancholy, and the madness of the tabernacle. *

God send that our wishes be not in vain.

ART. VI. *Exodus: an Epic Poem, in Thirteen Books.* By CHARLES HOYLE of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Domestic Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. J. Hatchard, London.

A CORRESPONDENT wrote us lately an account of a tea-drinking in the west of England, at which there assisted no fewer than six epic poets—a host of Parnassian strength, certainly equal to six-and-thirty ordinary bards; and Mr Hoyle, we believe, was not of the party. How unreasonable then is it to complain, that poetry is on the decline among us! We ought, on the contrary, to rejoice, that so precious (however ungainful) an article of our staple manufactures is the only one which, in these disastrous times, our inveterate enemy is either unable, or unambitious, to diminish.

In addition to this, we have the pleasure to remark, that our *measure* and *numbers* seem, from the specimen before us, to be

* There is one circumstance to which we have neglected to advert in the proper place,—the dreadful pillage of the earnings of the poor which is made by the Methodists. A case is mentioned in one of the Numbers of these two magazines for 1807, of a poor man with a family, earning only twenty-eight shillings a week, who has made *two donations of ten guineas each to the missionary fund!*

improving.—In the number of books in an epic poem, varying from six to two dozen, an odd number has been hitherto little known. It comes, therefore, as a gratuity in the present instance; and Mr Hoyle, surpassing Virgil himself in generosity, gives us thirteen books, as the conscientious baker gives thirteen rolls to the dozen.

Yet this generous profusion of an author in multiplying his pages, though it may please the purchaser who loves to have bulk of volume for his money, and may read as much or as little as he pleases, is sometimes rather troublesome to peevish critics: and we must honestly confess, that on the first perusal of this important article, our fortitude forsook us at the prospect of thirteen books, on which no ray of interest or entertainment appeared to dawn. Returning, however, to a sense of the duty and dignity of our profession, we resolved to scorn the trifling allurement of mere amusement, and apply our aged eyes to the task of measuring Mr Hoyle's poetical altitude, not by the random guess of our own calculation, but by the quadrant and plummet of Aristotelian criticism. After applying this surer test to the performance, our veneration for the poem has considerably increased.

Aristotle hath remarked, that the epic poem should be distinguished from history, by its poetical form, and by the liberty of fiction which it assumes. Whether the reverend author before us has sufficiently fulfilled this ordonnance with regard to fiction, we do not feel bold enough in so important a question to decide; but certain it is, that his poem will never be mistaken for the book of Exodus in scripture. In the first place, Exodus of the Pentateuch, is known to be an history; but the Exodiade is expressly named an epic poem in the title-page. In the next place, Exodus is divided into chapters of prose; Mr Hoyle's performance is divided into books of blank verse. In the third place, the bible Exodus is inspired; whereas the Exodiade of Mr Hoyle bears evident marks of human achievement.

Instead of failing in attention to the rule above mentioned, it gives us pain to remark, that our author has gone a little too far in establishing the distinction between his work and holy writing. It behoved him, we think, as a grave divine, to have stuck closely, in all the important facts, to the text and order of Scripture. Every one knows how much of our interest in the original story of Exodus depends upon the ten plagues of Egypt. Of these, the stagnant and bloody waters were the first; and immediately after these, came the plague of lice; a visitation which, as 'coming home to the business and bosoms of men,' we have no doubt tormented the court of Pharoah more than all the nine other plagues put together. Where so much depended on the agency of those heaven-commissioned vermin, much ought to have been described

by the poet. The rage of Pharaoh, and the confusion of his seraglio under these tormentors, might have furnished sufficient horrors for the page of Mr Hoyle, or the pencil of Mr Fuseli. What does Mr Hoyle do? He is afraid to name them; he slurs them over by circumlocution. Now this, we think, is abandoning truth, scripture, and simplicity, without any apology; and making a cowardly submission to false and modern refinement. We trust we shall not be accused of national prejudices on so delicate a subject: but to suppress a whole plague of Egypt for the sake of a name, is really too much. No man who has had occasion to attend to the subject, will pretend to consider it as insignificant. We dare swear Pharaoh himself thought with Goldsmith, that

'These little things are great to little men.'

All that is said, however, of this sublime plague, is hurried over in a slight allusion in a speech addressed to Pharaoh, by one of his jugglers, or high priests, or courtiers—for at this period, those professions seem not to have been divided. The Egyptian court show-men, it is well known, had maintained for some time an unequal rivalship with Moses, whose miracles they made ingenious, but fruitless, efforts to imitate,—either by collusion, as some suppose, with the devil, after the manner of Dr Faustus,—or, like Boaz and Breslaw, by slight-of-hand deception. The latter, we think, is the more orthodox supposition. Howsoever it happened, they were able to play off but a few entertainments, when the genuine miracles of Moses laid their mountebank quackeries in the dirt. Like true courtiers, they left their deluded king to scratch his head without assistance, in the distresses which they had advised him to bring upon himself; and, when the vermin plague arrived, were obliged to confess, that they had neither witchcraft nor hocus-pocus to disenchant his enemies. Observe, however, how one of those detected rogues addresses the monarch in the usual style of court adulation.

'Mightiest of monarchs, the desire and dread
Of nations!—on the well-appointed state
That girds thy throne magnificent, we gaze,
Till gazing grows to labour; yet our sight
Finds no satiety, while ruled in peace
By thine experienced sceptre.—We admire
Thine equity and sage paternal care;
To thee, as present godhead, we devote
Our art and service; to thy bidding task
Our utmost faculties, of no mean power
By proof evinced. When Aaron turned to blood
Egyptian streams, the obsequious element
We smote, and colourless pellucid changed
To sanguine and opaque; and when he called
Embodied reptile hosts o'er house and field,

We too with facile imitation raised
Th' amphibious croaking race: but when he brought
O'er man and beast the vermin plague, suspense,
Our mystery failed; for to transmute the dust
Of Egypt, and with swarms of insects loathed,
Priests, altars, temples, palaces defile,
Isis forbade, and, blasting our attempt,
Her dreadful frown assumed, and name of wrath,
Tithrambo: her dishonour'd priests she mourns,
And rites polluted, (hence her aid withdrawn):
Or Typhon's baleful influence triumphs now
Predominant in air; or Israel's God,
In higher spheres presiding, thwarts our charms.'

Book I. l. 104.

In the next plague our author makes a still more alarming deviation from his text. Instead of the simple plague of flies, he gives us, in a most heterodox manner, a plague of all animals whatsoever, and tells us that this is the true meaning of the passage in scripture, without adducing a tittle of evidence for the assertion. Now, we strongly suspect, that instead of pitying the Egyptians for such a plague, our true English sportsmen, many of whom belong to his own mother church, and will naturally look into a brother clergyman's performance, will rather envy the Egyptians such a visitation of elephants and bisons, wild boars, flamingoes, falcons, &c.; and, in spite of the snakes and amphisbænas, wish in their hearts for a few shots at such excellent game, so infinitely preferable to fly-catching. What would a Daniel or a Thornton say, to have the whole treasures of savage nature laid open to their field sports?

The passage we allude to is quite a natural history poetized,

'Foremost in whirls the insect millions came.'

These are not so pleasant, to be sure; but let us come to the wildfowl—

'Of longitude immense, and depth profound,
Next with annoyance dire the feather'd tribe
Darken'd the sun; flamingoes, falcons, herns,
The greedy cormorant, the sharp-eyed kite,
The doleful bittern, and the sea-mew gaunt,
Red ibis, and the hawk of steadiest wing,
Fit symbol of the winds, and sacred held
Throughout the land of Nile; the clam'rous crane,
The broad-beak'd pelican; the ostrich tall;
The ossifrage and osprey, and the clang
Of eagles fierce, as when afar they ken
Havock and battle; when their headlong rage
With speed of lightning hurries to the plain.
Nor such alone as whom Norwegia breeds,

XUM

Or Thule, where, from beetling precipice,
Suspense, the peasant plies his dreadful trade,
Plundering their eyries; but of mighty bone,
And pennons, rival to the condor's plume,
Who in the stony girdle pleas'd resides,
Where winter shivers near the tropic sun
On Cotopasi, and the lonely snows
Of Chimboraco; there the monarch wings
The depth of upper air. With eyes on fire
Darted the vulture: next the bird that tends
His aged sire (and thence by Egypt's sons
Revered) and on the royal sceptre graven
Outstretch'd his length of neck; nor lagg'd behind
The raven, nor the dismal owl, whose cries
Infest the night; nor he of doubtful form,
Th' unhallow'd bird of darkness, though to beasts
Fitlier perhaps ascribed, and by his side
The vampyre, kindred plague, that sucks the veins,
And changes sleep to death.'

We have then a procession of snakes with long names; and afterwards this fine *menagerie* of quadrupeds.

——'Now far and wide
The dusty plain resounds with trampling speed
Of bestial feet; now leaps, now proudly stalks
The panther, conscious of his painted vest,
And youthful strength redundant; now remote,
And now at hand, the lion's hollow roar
Appals the bold; slow from the labouring wave
Behemoth snorting rose, portentous shape,
His loins and ribs like solid plates of brass,
His tail like cedar waving, and his bones
As iron bars; the horned rhinoceros,
The boar and spotted ounce; the bearded pard,
The fierce-ey'd bison, furious buffalo,
The sharp-quill'd porcupine, and tiger fell,
Promiscuous roam'd; the wild ass did not love
That time his desert haunts and mountains drear,
But swept the plain with savage scorn, deriding
Affrighted man; unwieldy in his might
Huge strode the lordly elephant, and seem'd
A moving tower, o'er all the countless throng
Preeminent, as o'er the tallest bark
Some icy mount in Hyperborean seas
Loose drifting from the pole, beneath whose lee
Navies might moor—so vast the giant length,
The base so deep, the nodding crest so high.'—Book I. l. 303.

An epic poem, we are told by the critic, is to be considered

under three heads,—the subject, the characters, and the narration of the poet.

The subject ought to have unity, greatness and interest:—in two of these respects, Mr Hoyle is remarkably classical. As the hero of epic song is in the hands of the poet not a drudge of all work, who is to shift from one unconnected adventure to another, but an articled apprentice, who is to be kept strictly to one business, with the exception of a few episodes intervening like holidays; so the hero of the Exodiade attends, during ten thousand lines, very soberly to the main chance. Delays are indeed interposed, such as the marriage of Moses, the parliamentary intrigues of the devils, the country dances of the witches and clergy of Egypt, and the provoking obstinacy of Pharaoh; but our unpleasant suspense is relieved by the certainty of what is ultimately to be done with Pharaoh, and the consciousness how well he deserves it. Indeed, the moral of our poet's work seems only an echo of the concluding stanza of another heroic poem on the same subject, by an author of no small celebrity in his day—

'Now, was not Pharaoh a very great raſcal,
Not to let the children of Iſrael with their wives and their ſons and daughters, go out into the wilderneſs to eat the Lord's paſcal?'*

Nor is the gentle relief of the episode wanting to this work; at least, we apprehend the interview of Moses with her serene highness the Egyptian princess-dowager Thermutis (in the sixth book), having little or nothing to do with the main subject, to be an episodical flourish. The evening party of those illustrious personages reminds us strongly of that of Dido and Æneas, as far as story-telling goes:—but here the similarity stops; for the moral tendency of the two passages is as different as that of the Shorter Catechism and the Nouvelle Eloise. Instead of a love-sick queen, we have an aged and devout gentlewoman considerably turned of ninety. None of the madness, suicide, or romance of Dido, which so much endanger the morality of youth in perusing the Roman poet, are to be found in this holy episode.—Thermutis is, indeed, the adopted mother of Moses; but if she were not, the greatest praise would still be due to our poet, for painting them in such grave and reflective attitudes, that the loosest imagination could conceive no more danger to their mutual virtue from the *tête-à-tête*, than from the meeting of two Egyptian mummies.

Under the head of characters, much has been said by criti-

* This admirable distich is extracted from a metrical version of a considerable part of the Holy Scriptures by Zachary Boyd—a copy of which is preserved in the library of the University of Glasgow.

cal writers respecting the manners of epic poetry.—They certainly mean, that good heroes should be drawn with polite manners, and evil ones with the reverse. In this respect it is true, neither Virgil nor Homer can be wholly acquitted, when we consider the ungallant courtship of the Trojan chief, and the foul-mouthed epithets of Achilles. But different, indeed, is Mr Hoyle's delineation of characters.—Pharaoh, it is true, is as graceless and remote from good-breeding, and every way as dishonourable, as a king of the gypsies might be expected to be;—but Moses, besides the simple dignity of his scripture character, is here invested with the polish and dignity of the soldier, the scholar and the gentleman. Thermutis having vainly attempted to use her influence at court in behalf of the unfortunate Hebrews, is banished for sedition to the land of Goshen. She retires from the palais-royal in a very dignified lady-like manner, and betakes herself to the country residence of Moses, to which, in passing at the ferry of the Nile, she is compared to Xerxes abandoning Greece,—though from what circumstances of similarity, we confess ourselves unable to perceive. Luckily, however, she finds the Hebrew leader at home, who receives her with all the courtesy of a kind landlord, and beguiles the evening like an eloquent, amusing and instructive companion. He regales her first with a short history of the universal deluge; and then, by an easy transition, describes his own flight into the land of Midian, his courtship of Jethro's daughter, and his subsequent felicity in a conjugal state. Of all these enchanting passages, it is beyond our power to give more than a scanty fragment to the reader; but he may take our word for it, that the whole conversation is exceedingly edifying.

Pharaoh, in dismissing the princess, thus abuses her—

> 'Haste! avaunt!
> Answer me not, but speed thy banish'd steps
> To Goshen;—shame and sorrow with thee go.—
> He ceas'd; and with imperial, grave deport,
> Thermutis made obeisance, and withdrew,
> And call'd the attendant damsels to sustain
> Her feebleness, and bent to Goshen's meads
> Her steps. The chasing amplitude of Nile,
> Soon they arriv'd, and soon in fragile bark
> Ferried the stream; in humiliation like
> (But how unlike in virtue) Persia's King,
> Xerxes, from Salamis, through Thracian wilds,
> With labour huge escap'd o'er Hellespont,
> Despairing fled. Debark'd, they soon attained
> Th' abode of Moses; him (the tumult quell'd)
> In evening meditation lone they found.
> He started at their entrance, and amazed

Beheld the royal dame. With love and awe
To benefactress, as to parent due,
He hasted to salute her, and inquire
What chance had prompted, cloudy or serene,
Her sudden coming. She in grief exclaimed:
With age, with anguish, weary and o'erspent,
Outcast I come—* * * * * * * * *
Thermutis ended; and with earnest words,
Cordial in welcome, Moses thus replied—
Here, then, thy country and thy servants find,
Much honour'd princess; here reside, and reign
O'er willing hearts. Heaven's treasur'd comfort, all
With balm of blessing, wait thee, and assuage
Each earthly pang. Ye female train, retire;
And through the mansion all things so dispose,
As best your royal mistress may allure
To due refection, or restoring sleep.—
Immediate they withdrew.' &c. &c. &c.—Book VI. l. 395.

After noticing thus imperfectly the subject and characters of Exodus, it still remains to consider, in the third place, the poet's narration, or the manner of his communicating the story, together with the style or diction. With respect to the former of these circumstances, viz. the manner of imparting the story, we think he has greatly the advantage of some of the greatest masters of epic poetry, in one particular. In compliance with that vulgar concern for the distresses of others, which plumes itself on the name of sympathy, it has been usual for epic poets to keep their readers, during two thirds of their performance, in perpetual anxiety for the fate of the poor hero; who, before he gets his business accomplished, is so beleaguer'd and beset by what they call the *nodus*, or difficulty of his situation, that we see him enclosed, like a reel in a bottle, with scarce the hope or possibility of release. How differently Mr Hoyle has treated his hero, the reader (if he can read, to use the words of Martinus Scriblerus) will discover in the course of these thirteen books. So dexterously is the story managed, that our heart's ease is never for a moment disturbed. Storms, plagues, disasters and difficulties sound in our ears like the rain pattering on the windows of the Castle of Indolence, only to make our slumber more secure. For Hebrew or for Gentile, for man, woman, devil or sorcerer, we never breathe a sigh, or are defrauded of a single tear. All is comfort and tranquillity in the calm creation of Mr Hoyle; and the excellent treatise on Whist by his illustrious synonim, is fully as likely to betray the reader into unbecoming emotions, as the exemplary Epic of the writer before us. We venture to say, that not the most abject lover of kings will feel regret for the

afflicted majesty of Egypt; nor is there a Whig in the country zealous enough for the cause of liberty, to pant for the deliverance of the Hebrews, as their servitude is painted by Mr Hoyle. It is laudable and salutary to read and cultivate acquaintance with such authors in these perturbed and sentimental times. Who would not prefer sobriety to intoxication,—the security of the money-holder to the tumult of the gamester,—the calm dignity of a mind at rest, to the foolish excitement which romantic readers call the joy of grief, and words that harrow up the soul?

With regard to diction, our poet's style is the most perfect model that could be imagined for seconding the lulling magic of his muse;—it breathes the very spirit of repose. Such may be called, perhaps, only the negative merits of this excellent performance. We shall not dispute about words; but we think they are positive qualities, and only such as Herculean labour could achieve; at least, if we may judge of the poet's labour by our own.

The last object of attention in an epic poem criticized on regular principles, is the moral. That of the work before us is in the highest degree just and interesting. It is, we think, that people oppressed on account of their religion, will be supported by Providence in their endeavours after emancipation; and that bloody tyrants are apt to come to an untimely end. The first, we think, has a direct reference to the case of the Irish Catholics. The second, we imagine, to be intended for the use of Bonaparte.

ART. VII. *Letters from England.* By DON MANUEL ALVAREZ ESPRIELLA. Translated from the Spanish. 3 vol. London. Longman & Co. 1807.

THIS publication appears to us to be pretty evidently the work of some experienced *English* bookmaker; and by no means a despicable specimen of the progress which has been made in that laudable art. The name of Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, in the title-page, is no doubt placed there, however, for very useful purposes. We have of late been so overrun with travels, tours, walks, and journals, through every nook and corner of the island, and they have been presented to the public in such a variety of forms and styles,—picturesque, sentimental, agricultural and evangelical, that it was hardly possible any longer to attract attention to works of this description, by any effort of native ingenuity. Observations on our own country by a stranger or foreigner, on the other hand, never fail to excite curiosity, and obtain at least a temporary circula-

tion. We are all anxious to know what other people say of us; and are apt to suppose, perhaps not very erroneously, that we gain a new knowledge of familiar objects, by seeing them with the eyes of a stranger. This alone would afford a sufficient temptation to the deception which has here been attempted; but the ingenious person who practises it has many other advantages. He is enabled, in the first place, to fill up his pages with a series of trifling and familiar details, that never could have been tolerated in his own character. He has, besides, much greater latitude and freedom allowed him, if he chooses to discuss the more delicate subjects of politics and religion; and if he brings his hero from a part of the world where we can reasonably suppose him to be ignorant of the arts and refinements and peculiar manners of our country, he can very successfully employ him in exposing the follies and vices that have been introduced with these refinements. This is admirably exemplified in the *Lettres Persannes* of Montesquieu.

The author before us has made ample use of the first of these privileges; and has contrived to fill a large portion of his book with such trifling and minute descriptions of the inns, roads, stages, &c. as would have been quite insufferable and ridiculous in his own person. What Englishman, travelling in his own country, would be allowed to enlighten the minds of his countrymen with such information as the following? 'They burn earth coal every where; it is a black shining stone, very brittle, which kindles slowly, making much smoke and much ashes; but as all the houses are built with chimnies, it is neither unwholesome nor disagreeable.'—'The hearth is furnished with a round bar to move the coals, a sort of forceps to arrange them, and a small shovel for the cinders, all of iron, and so shaped and polished as to be ornamental. Besides these, there is what they call the fender, which is a little moveable barrier, either of brass or polished steel, or sometimes of wire painted green and capt with brass, to prevent the live embers from falling on the floor.' In this manner, every article of household furniture is described; and we have equally full accounts of the different modes of travelling, with a most accurate description of all the varieties of stage-coaches, mail-coaches, long-coaches, &c.

To maintain the character of Spaniard, Don Manuel is of course represented as a most zealous member of the Holy Catholic Church, which naturally affords the author an opportunity of filling many pages with lamentations over the miserable heresy which prevails in our unhappy country; but, except enabling him to spin out his book to the requisite length with the least possible exertion of intellect, it serves no good purpose either to himself or his reader, as it necessarily checks all free dis-

XUM

cussion on the nature and tendency of the Establishment, and harmonizes very ill with the tone of philosophical liberality and intrepid reasoning which is assumed on most other occasions. The same thing may be said with regard to his political remarks; although, in the variety of miscellaneous discussions which occur in these volumes, enough is said to convince us, that the author possesses such a laudable zeal for freedom and love of peace, that however we may be inclined to differ from him in many speculative points, we are satisfied of his philanthropy and the innocence of his intentions.

From what we have already said, our readers may perceive, that we do not think very highly of the plan of this book: indeed, we are pretty well convinced, that if the author had abstained from all attempt at writing in character, he would have been much more successful. He evidently holds the pen of a practised writer; and though he frequently gives proofs of a bad taste in composition, particularly in his attempts at wit, to which he is unfortunately too much addicted, yet there are many passages which display a command of language and power of description far above the common pitch;—we allude particularly to the account of an excursion to the Lakes, which is extremely well executed, and, in our opinion, by far the best part of the book.

Of his powers of reasoning we cannot speak very highly: he goes to the bottom of nothing; when his subject leads him to discuss any of the nicer points of political economy, or any subject which requires minute investigation, or close reasoning, he is uniformly superficial and declamatory, and, at the same time, delivers his opinions in the most dogmatical and peremptory manner. He belongs indeed, on the whole, rather to the sentimental than to the reasoning class of composers; he is continually inveighing against the present constitution of society, and holds in the greatest abhorrence all those great commercial and manufacturing establishments, which, 'while they enable the rich to revel in all kinds of luxurious enjoyment, infallibly tend to sink the great mass of the community into a state of the most abject slavery and misery.' Accordingly, whenever he approaches any great manufacturing town, instead of any expression of admiration at the wonderful exertions of ingenuity and industry which are there displayed, we are sure to be presented with a highly coloured and most lamentable picture of the misery and vice into which a great portion of the inhabitants are plunged, in consequence of their hateful and pernicious pursuits; and the certain and total ruin of the country is most emphatically denounced, if we are mad enough to continue this system. But his discontent is not confined to the remarks on our trade and com-

merce: the same querulous tone is kept up in his observations on all our institutions. All this is the more provoking, as he never once deigns to give us the least glimpse of the clue by which we may escape from the labyrinth of error in which we are now involved; and, after having exerted himself to show the darkness of the dungeon which we have dug for ourselves, he very humanely leaves us to grope our way out of it, the best way we can. In short, he seems to have no very clear views on the subject; and finds it, of course, a much easier task to point out the evils of our situation, than to suggest any scheme for its improvement.

We shall not attempt to give a minute account of these volumes; but we shall give a slight sketch of their miscellaneous contents, and make such extracts, as may enable our readers to judge for themselves, of their general merits, and style of execution.

Our traveller lands at Falmouth in spring 1802, accompanied by an English gentleman, whose remarks, in the course of the journey, are of essential service; as, without this assistance, the knowledge he displays of the country he passes through, would have been quite out of character. The first sixty pages are occupied with an account of their journey to London, in which nothing very striking or interesting occurs: it is chiefly made up of descriptions of the roads, inns, and modes of travelling; which, as we have already hinted, are insufferably minute and trifling. The whole is narrated in a rather lively, but pert and flippant manner; and enlivened with a variety of little stories and anecdotes, apparently gleaned from some of their voluble hostesses. In the very first letter, there is a string of them, which we will quote as a specimen of their general merit.

'A madman not many years ago carried his wife here at low water, landed her on the rock, and rowed away in sport; nor did he return till her danger as well as fear had become extreme. Some time since, the priest of this place was applied to, to bury a certain person from the adjoining county. "Why, John," said he to the sexton, "we buried this man a dozen years ago:" and in fact it appeared, on referring to the books of the church, that his funeral had been registered ten years back. He had been bed-ridden and in a state of dotage during all that time; and his heirs had made a mock burial, to avoid certain legal forms and expenses which would else have been necessary to enable them to receive and dispose of his rents. I was also told another anecdote of an inhabitant of this town, not unworthy of a stoic:—his house was on fire; it contained his whole property; and when he found it was in vain to attempt saving any thing, he went upon the nearest hill and made a drawing of the conflagration:—an admirable instance of English phlegm!' I. 5, 6.

XUM

There are many examples of the affected liveliness, and conceited turn of expression, which marks the close of the following extract:—we hope our readers will be satisfied with this.

'The perpetual stir and bustle in this inn is as surprising as it is wearisome. Doors opening and shutting, bells ringing, voices calling to the waiter from every quarter, while he cries "coming" to one room, and hurries away to another. Every body is in a hurry here; either they are going off in the packets, and are hastening their preparations to embark; or they have just arrived, and are impatient to be on the road homeward. Every now-and-then a carriage rattles up to the door with a rapidity which makes the very house shake. The man who cleans the boots is running in one direction, the barber with his powder-bag in another: here goes the barber's boy with his hot water and razors; there comes the clean linen from the washer-woman; and the hall is full of porters and sailors bringing in luggage, or bearing it away:—now you hear a horn blow because the post is coming in, and in the middle of the night you are awakened by another, because it is going out. Nothing is done in England without a noise; and yet noise is the only thing they forget in the bill! I. 6, 7.

The description of the country, and the different towns they pass, we believe to be tolerably correct; but we shall not detain our readers with any account of places so very generally known: the descriptions are by no means diffuse or tedious, and we accompany the travellers without any sense of fatigue. We must confess, however, we are frequently annoyed with the author's unlucky passion for jokes; he never loses an opportunity of introducing them; and they are very often in rather a vulgar taste. For instance, in speaking of Bridport, he says the neighbourhood is so proverbially productive of hemp, that when a man is hanged, they have a saying, that he has been stabbed with a *Bridport Dagger*. And again, on his approaching London, it is remarked, that the country had once been a forest, but has now no other *wood* remaining than a few *gibbets*; which last ingenious witticism, we suspect, he borrowed from a certain auctioneer, who, in selling a piece of land, described it as beautifully adorned with *hanging woods*; which the enraged purchaser found to be no other than the useful machines above mentioned. We now reach London; and confess we were under great apprehensions of being obliged to follow our traveller through the vast field of description that is now at once opened to him: we were, however, agreeably disappointed, on finding only a very short account of the general appearance of the city, and a lively picture of the moving scenery, the wonderful concourse of people, and the activity and bustle which pervades every corner. The opulence and splendour of the shops, it is justly observed, is particularly striking to foreigners, and give them the highest idea of the immense riches of the metropolis.

It is quite impossible to follow the writer through the great variety of matter which he has jumbled together in the remaining letters of the first volume. Except a visit to St Paul's, Westminster Abbey, St James's, and Drury Lane theatre, there are few notices of our public buildings or places of entertainment. The account of St Paul's, on the whole, is dull; though the following short statement, of the general effect of the view from the top, on the mind of our sentimental Iberian, is rather a favourable specimen of the style which England has lately condescended to borrow from Germany.

'I would have climbed St Paul's, if it had been only to see London thus mapped below me, and though there had been nothing beautiful or sublime in the view: few objects, however, are so sublime, if by sublimity we understand that which completely fills the imagination to the utmost measure of its powers, as the view of a huge city thus seen at once:—house-roofs, the chimneys of which formed so many turrets; towers and steeples; the trees and gardens of the inns of court, and the distant squares forming so many green spots in the map; Westminster Abbey on the one hand, with Westminster Hall, an object scarcely less conspicuous; on the other the Monument, a prodigious column worthy of a happier occasion and a less lying inscription; the Tower and the masts of the shipping rising behind it; the river with its three bridges and all its boats and barges; the streets immediately within view blackened with moving swarms of men, and lines of carriages. To the north were Hampstead and Highgate on their eminences, southward the Surry hills. Where the city ended it was impossible to distinguish: it would have been more beautiful if, as at Madrid, the capital had been circumscribed within walls, and the open country had commenced immediately without its limits. In every direction the lines of houses ran out as far as the eye could follow them; only the patches of green were more frequently interspersed towards the extremity of the prospect, as the lines diverged further from each other. It was a sight which awed me and made me melancholy. I was looking down upon the habitations of a million of human beings; upon the single spot whereon were crowded together more wealth, more splendour, more ingenuity, more worldly wisdom, and, alas! more worldly blindness, poverty, depravity, dishonesty and wretchedness, than upon any other spot in the whole habitable earth.' II. 14, 15.

The following remarks on the bad effect produced by windows in our buildings in the Grecian style, we think quite just. 'But the architecture of the antients is altered, and materially injured by the alteration, when adapted to cold climates, where it is necessary when the light is admitted to exclude the air; the windows have always a littleness, always appear misplaced; they are holes cut in the wall; not, as in the Gothic, natural and essential parts of the general structure.' Drury-Lane theatre is minutely described, and due praise is bestowed on our two most

celebrated performers, Kemble and Mrs Siddons. The acknowledged degeneracy of the drama is attributed to the prodigious size of our theatres. 'The finer tones of passion cannot be discriminated, nor the finer movements of the countenance perceived from the front, hardly from the middle of the house. Authors therefore substitute what is called broad farce for genuine comedy; their jests are made intelligible by grimace, or by that sort of mechanical wit which can be seen; comedy is made up of trick, and tragedy of processions, pageants, battles and explosions.' There is, no doubt, much justice in this remark; but we cannot receive it as a complete solution of the melancholy fact; and it is indeed partly contradicted by the great applause constantly bestowed on the two great actors already named, who certainly do not owe their celebrity to mere stage trick and extravagant grimace. The subject is a curious one, and worthy of more attention than has yet been bestowed on it.

He has now leisure to notice the public events of the day, such as the change of ministry, and the elevation of Mr Addington, of whom he professes great admiration, and delivers a long panegyric on his talents and virtues. Our readers must be contented with this *morceau.* 'His enemies have nothing worse to object against him than that his father was a physician. They call him Doctor on this account. A minister of healing he has truly been; he has poured balm and oil into the wounds of his country, and his country is blessing him.' A whole letter is filled with an account of the trial and execution of Governor Wall; which leads to some observations on the martial law and military affairs of England. We heartily agree with the writer in his reprobation of the cruelty of our military punishments. The following description, we are afraid, is not exaggerated.

'The offender is sometimes sentenced to receive a thousand lashes; —a surgeon stands by to feel his pulse during the execution, and determine how long the flogging can be continued without killing him. When human nature can sustain no more, he is remanded to prison; his wound, for from the shoulders to the loins it leaves him one wound, is dressed, and as soon as it is sufficiently healed to be laid open again in the same manner, he is brought out to undergo the remainder of his sentence. And this is repeatedly and openly practised in a country, where they read in their churches, and in their houses, that Bible, in their own language, which saith, "Forty stripes may the judge inflict upon the offender, and not exceed." I. 109, 110.

We agree with him also in his opinion of the miserable state of our present military system; but we must add, that the hints which are here thrown out for its improvement are, in general, either quite common-place, or ridiculously puerile and absurd; which is the more unfortunate, as they are delivered in the most pre-

sumptuous and dogmatical manner. No comment can be necessary on the following passage.

'But the sure and certain way to secure any nation for ever from alarm as well as from danger, is to train every schoolboy to the use of arms: boys would desire no better amusement, and thus, in the course of the next generation, every man would be a soldier. England might then defy, not France alone, but the whole Continent leagued with France, even if the impassable gulf between this happy island and its enemy were filled up. This will be done sooner or later, for England must become an armed nation. How long it will be before her legislators will discover this, and how long, when they have discovered it, before they will dare to act upon it, that is, before they will consent to part with the power of alarming the people, which they have found so convenient, it would be idle to conjecture.' I. 117, 118.

Can any man in his senses seriously believe, that if all the schoolboys in the kingdom were to abandon bats and balls, and *amuse* themselves, in their leisure hours, in learning the use of arms, the next generation would be at all more likely to be soldiers, or the nation more warlike?

After a residence of a couple of months in London, our traveller sets out on another journey. He first goes in the stage-coach to Oxford. His fellow-travellers are of course introduced to our acquaintance. We are then presented with this delectable specimen of their conversation.

'The good lady gave us her whole history before we arrived at the end of the first stage;—how she had been to see her sister who lived in the Borough, and was now returning home; that she had been to both the playhouses—Astley's amphitheatre, and the Royal circus; had seen the crown and the lions at the Tower, and the elephants at Exeter 'Change; and that on the night of illumination she had been out till half after two o'clock, but never could get within sight of M. Otto's house. I found that it raised me considerably in her estimation when I assured her that I had been more fortunate, and had actually seen it. She then execrated all who did not like the peace; told me what the price of bread had been during the war, and how it had fallen; expressed a hope that hollands and French brandy would fall also; spoke with complacency of Bonniprat, as she called him, and asked whether we loved him as well in our country as the people in England loved king George. On my telling her that I was a Spaniard, not a Frenchman, she accommodated her conversation accordingly; said it was a good thing to be at peace with Spain, because Spanish annatto and jar raisins came from that country; and inquired how Spanish liquorice was made, and if the people wer'n't Papists, and never read in the Bible. You must not blame me for boasting of a lady's favours, if I say my answers were so satisfactory that I was pressed to partake of her cakes and oranges.' II. 49—51.

When tired of the company inside, he takes his seat on the roof of the coach, and gives us some little sketches of the country, mixed with anecdotes about the coachman. On reaching Oxford, we have good descriptions of most of the principal colleges, walks, gardens, &c. with a minute account of the costume and mode of living of the students; but a very meagre and unsatisfactory one of the present state of learning and science at this celebrated seminary. Indeed, we have hardly a word on the subject; though we cannot help thinking it would have been quite as acceptable to his learned correspondent, as the long account we are presented with of their kitchens, dinners and breakfasts, or even the following description of the *chairs* at Baliol, which we are tempted to extract as a specimen of the absurd minuteness to which our author sometimes descends.

'Their chairs are, beyond comparison, the easiest in which I ever sat down, though made entirely of wood: the seats are slightly concave from side to side; I know not how else to describe their peculiarity of construction; yet some thought and some experience must have been requisite to have attained to their perfection of easiness; and there may be a secret in the form, which I did not discover.' II. 67.

However, in another part of the book, while on a visit to Cambridge, he makes some observations, from which we may gather his opinion of both universities.

'I inquired what were the real advantages of these institutions to the country at large, and to the individuals who study in them. "They are of this service," he replied, "to the country at large, that they are the great schools by which established opinions are inculcated and perpetuated. I do not know that men gain much here, yet it is a regular and essential part of our system of education; and they who have not gone through it, always feel that their education has been defective. A knowledge of the world, that is to say, of our world, and of the men in it, is gained here; and that knowledge remains when Greek and Geometry are forgotten." I asked him which was the best of the two universisies; he answered, that Cambridge was as much superior to Oxford, as Oxford was to Salamanca. I could not forbear smiling at his scale of depreciation: he perceived it, and begged my pardon, saying, that he as little intended to undervalue the establishments of my country, as to overrate the one of which he was himself a member. "We are bad enough," said he, "Heaven knows; but not so bad as Oxford. They are now attempting to imitate us in some of those points wherein the advantage on our part is too notorious to be disputed. The effect may be seen in another generation;—meantime the imitation is a confession of inferiority." II. 295-297.

To the question, whether we might regard the universities as the seats of learning and the Muses, we have the following particularly smart answer. 'As for the Muses, Sir, you have tra-

versed the banks of the Cam, and must know whether you have seen any *nine ladies* who may answer their description.' He adds,

'We do certainly produce verses both Greek and Latin which are worthy of gold medals, and English ones also, after the newest and most approved receipt for verse-making. Of learning, such as is required for the purposes of tuition, there is much;—beyond it, except in mathematics, none. In this we only share the common degeneracy. The Mohammedans believe that when Gog and Magog are to come, the race of men will have dwindled to such littleness, that a shoe of one of the present generation will serve them for a house. If this prophecy be typical of the intellectual diminution of the species, Gog and Magog may soon be expected in the neighbourhood of their own hills.

"The truth is, Sir," he continued, "that the institutions of men grow old like themselves, and, like women, are always the last to perceive their own decay. When universities were the only schools of learning, they were of great and important utility; as soon as there were others, they ceased to be the best, because their forms were prescribed, and they could adopt no improvement till long after it was generally acknowledged. There are other causes of decline.—We educate for only one profession: when colleges were founded, that one was the most important; it is now no longer so; they who are destined for the others find it necessary to study elsewhere, and it begins to be perceived that this is not a necessary stage upon the road. This might be remedied. We have professors of every thing, who hold their situations, and do nothing. In Edinburgh, the income of the professor depends upon his exertions; and, in consequence, the reputation of that university is so high, that Englishmen think it necessary to finish their education by passing a year there. They learn shallow metaphysics there, and come back worse than they went, inasmuch as it is better to be empty than flatulent." II. 297—299.

On leaving Oxford, we proceed through Worcester to Birmingham: the appearance of this place and of Manchester, which he shortly after visits, raises only the most melancholy images in the imagination of Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. We have already noticed his abhorrence of the manufacturing system; and he has here an ample field for the display of his eloquence. He turns with disgust from the examination of these models of perfection in the mechanic arts, which are here everywhere to be seen: and the bustle of actual industry, which is so cheerful a spectacle to many men, presents to his mind only the painful ideas of unceasing labour, poverty and misery. That there must be in all countries, where the population and the arts of civilized life have reached a certain point, a class of men who pass their days in labour for a pittance barely adequate to their subsistence, and who, of course, must be continually liable to want and misery, from accidents, and the follies and vices in-

cident to human nature, is a position which we are afraid cannot be denied. To divert the course of industry from one channel into another, would be of no avail; it would change the place, but could not alter the nature nor diminish the quantity of the evil.

There is, no doubt, much truth in the melancholy picture which is here presented to us, of the wretched state of the lower class of labourers; and it is drawn with much force and feeling. The following extract will explain our author's ideas on the subject, and at the same time afford a good specimen of that kind of declamatory eloquence in which he excels, and of which there are many examples in these volumes.

'We purchase English cloth, English muslins, English buttons, &c. and admire the excellent skill with which they are fabricated, and wonder that from such a distance they can be afforded to us at so low a price, and think what a happy country is England! A happy country indeed it is for the higher orders; no where have the rich so many enjoyments, no where have the ambitious so fair a field, no where have the ingenious such encouragement, no where have the intellectual such advantages; but to talk of English happiness, is like talking of Spartan freedom,—the helots are overlooked. In no other country can such riches be acquired by commerce; but it is the one who grows rich by the labour of the hundred. The hundred—human beings like himself, as wonderfully fashioned by nature, gifted with the like capacities, and equally made for immortality, are sacrificed body and soul. Horrible as it must needs appear, the assertion is true to the very letter. They are deprived in childhood of all instruction and all enjoyment; of the sports in which childhood instinctively indulges,—of fresh air by day, and of natural sleep by night. Their health physical and moral is alike destroyed; they die of diseases induced by unremitting task work, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms, by the particles of metallic or vegetable dust which they are continually inhaling; or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope, without morals, without religion, and without shame; and bring forth slaves like themselves to trade in the same path of misery.

'The dwellings of the labouring manufacturers are in narrow streets and lanes, blocked up from light and air, not (as in our country) to exclude an insupportable sun, but crowded together, because every inch of land is of such value, that room for light and air cannot be afforded them. Here, in Manchester, a great proportion of the poor lodge in cellars, damp and dark, where every kind of filth is suffered to accumulate, because no exertions of domestic care can ever make such homes decent. These places are so many hot-beds of infection; and the poor in large towns are rarely or never without an infectious fever among them,—a plague of their own, which leaves the habitations of the rich, like a Goshen of cleanliness and comfort, unvisited.

'Wealth flows into the country, but how does it circulate there? Not equally and healthfully through the whole system; it sprouts into

wens and tumours, and collects in aneurisms which starve and palsy the extremities. The Government indeed raises millions, now, as easily as it raised thousands in the days of Elizabeth: the metropolis is six times the size which it was a century ago; it has nearly doubled during the present reign: a thousand carriages drive about the streets of London, where, three generations ago, there were not an hundred: a thousand hackney coaches are licensed in the same city, where at the same distance of time there was not one: they whose grandfathers dined at noon from wooden trenchers, and upon the produce of their own farms, sit down by the light of waxen tapers to be served upon silver, and to partake of delicacies from the four quarters of the globe. But the number of the poor, and the sufferings of the poor, have continued to increase: the price of every thing which they consume has always been advancing; and the price of labour, the only commodity which they have to dispose of, remains the same. Workhouses are erected in one place, and infirmaries in another; the poor-rates increase in proportion to the taxes; and in times of dearth, the rich even purchase food, and retail it to them at a reduced price, or supply them with it gratuitously: still every year adds to their number. Necessity is the mother of crimes; new prisons are built, new punishments enacted; but the poor become year after year more numerous, more miserable, and more depraved; and this is the inevitable tendency of the manufacturing system.' II. 144—149.

Leaving with pleasure scenes so little congenial to his feelings, our traveller proceeds by the canal to Chester, where a visit to the jail leads him to make some remarks on the state of the penal laws, and the excellent administration of justice in England. He suggests the following improvements—'That a pleader should be permitted to defend the prisoner, as well as one to accuse him: where the innocence of the prisoner is proved, he ought to be indemnified for the losses he has sustained, and the expenses he has incurred by his imprisonment and trial: where he is convicted, the expense of bringing him to justice ought to fall upon the public, not upon the individual prosecutor, already a sufferer by the offence.' The first and the last of these regulations have long been established in Scotland. The difficulty of distinguishing acquittal from proof of absolute innocence, makes us hesitate as to the practicability of the second.

Our next stage is Liverpool; of which we have a short description. Just praise is bestowed on the liberality and enterprize of the merchants; and literature is said to be in an uncommonly flourishing state for a commercial town; in proof of which, we have an account of their Athenæum, a public library and reading room, which was set on foot by two of the inhabitants, and in 'one day sufficient funds were subscribed to establish the finest institution of the kind in the kingdom.'

XUM

We now proceed to Kendal, and come within view of the romantic scenery about the Lakes, of which we have an admirable description in the succeeding fifty or sixty pages. We followed our traveller with great pleasure throughout the whole of this excursion: the narrative is very lively and entertaining. The subject appears to be quite congenial to the taste of the writer, who shows a delicate perception of the sublimity and picturesque beauty of this delightful region. We bestow on this part of the book our unqualified praise; and recommend it to our readers as the best account we have met with of a part of the country which has been the subject of so many volumes of description. We would willingly make ample extracts, but our limits must confine us to the following.

'We walked once more at evening to the Lake side. Immediately opposite the quay is a little island with a dwellinghouse upon it. A few years ago it was hideously disfigured with forts and batteries, a sham church, and a new druidical temple, and, except a few fir trees, the whole was bare. The present owner has done all which a man of taste could do in removing these deformities: the church is converted into a tool-house, the forts demolished, the batteries dismantled, the stones of the druidical temple employed in forming a bank, and the whole island planted. There is something in this place more like the scenes of enchantment in the books of chivalry, than like any thing in our ordinary world;—a building, the exterior of which promised all the conveniences and elegances of life, surrounded with all ornamental trees, in a little island, the whole of which is one garden, and that in this lovely lake, girt round on every side with these awful mountains. Immediately behind it is the long dark western mountain called Brandelow: the contrast between this and the island, which seemed to be the palace and garden of the Lady of the Lake, produced the same sort of pleasure that a tale of enchantment excites, and we beheld it under circumstances which heightened its wonders, and gave the scene something like the unreality of a dream. It was a bright evening, the sun shining, and a few white clouds hanging motionless in the sky. There was not a breath of air stirring; not a wave—a ripple or wrinkle on the lake; so that it became like a great mirror, and represented the shores, mountains, sky and clouds so vividly, that there was not the slightest appearance of water. The great mountain-opening, being reversed in the shadow, became a huge arch; and through that magnificent portal the long vale was seen between mountains, and bounded by mountain beyond mountain,—all this in the water; the distance perfect as in the actual scene; the single houses standing far up in the vale—the smoke from their chimneys—every thing the same—the shadow and the substance joining at their base: so that it was impossible to distinguish where the reality ended and the image began. As we stood on the shore, heaven and the clouds and the sun seemed lying under us; we were looking down into a sky, as

heavenly and as beautiful as that overhead; and the range of mountains, having one line of summit under our feet, and another above us, were suspended between two firmaments.' II. 212–14.

'The rain now ceased, and the clouds grew thinner. They still concealed the summits, but now began to adorn the mountain, so light and silvery did they become. At length they cleared away from the top, and we perceived that the mountain, whose jagged and grotesque rocks we had so much admired, was of a pyramidal shape. That on the southern side of the dale head, which was of greater magnitude, and therefore probably, though not apparently, of equal height, had three summits. The clouds floated on its side, and seemed to cling to it. We thought our shore tamer than the opposite one, till we recollected that the road would not be visible from the water; and presently the mountain which had appeared of little magnitude or beauty while we passed under it, became, on looking back, the most pyramidal of the whole, and in one point had a cleft summit like Parnassus; thus forming the third conical mountain of the groupe, which rose as if immediately from the head of the Lake, the dale being lost. But of all objects *the screes* was the most extraordinary. Imagine the whole side of a mountain, a league in length, covered with loose stones, white, red, blue and green, in long straight lines as the torrents had left them, in sheets and in patches, sometimes broken by large fragments of rocks which had unaccountably stopt in their descent, and by parts which, being too precipitous for the stones to rest on, were darkened with mosses—and every variety of form and colour, was reflected by the dark water at its foot: no trees or bushes upon the whole mountain,—all was bare, but more variegated by this wonderful mixture of colouring than any vegetation could have made it.' II. 231–33.

During the whole of this excursion, we lose sight almost entirely of the character of foreigner which the writer has undertaken to support. It is quite impossible, we are convinced, for any person, during a transient visit, to acquire the intimate knowledge which is here displayed of every thing connected with the country around him: he not only speaks quite familiarly of the names of all the villages and hamlets within his view, but notices, with an accuracy that could only have been attained by a residence in the neighbourhood, many of the changes and alterations that have taken place during a course of years.

Leaving the vicinity of the Lakes, we proceed on our return to the metropolis, through Carlisle, York, Durham, &c. Nothing particularly worthy of notice occurs during the journey. We have a short description of the two famous cathedrals; and the narrative is, as usual, interspersed with a variety of little stories and anecdotes, some of which are amusing enough, but narrated, in general, in no very good taste.

XUM

Once more established in London, he resumes his more general speculations. We shall not detain our readers with any extracts from his remarks on the state of the House of Commons: his observations are in general quite commonplace and superficial; and he rings the usual changes on the well worn subjects of bribery and corruption, rotten boroughs, &c. &c.

The excessive credulity of the people has been a favourite topic with almost all the authors who have attempted to delineate the English character. If it be a fact that they are more generally subject to this weakness than their neighbours, it is a circumstance that is not easily to be accounted for. But, contrary to the opinion of our traveller, who boldly asserts 'that the great mass of the people are as ignorant, and as well contented with their ignorance, as any the most illiterate nation in Europe,' we are well convinced that instruction and information is much more generally diffused through all ranks of people in Great Britain than in any other country on the face of the earth; besides, no nation is more addicted to travelling than the English; and their immensely extended commerce leads a great number in all ranks of life to visit foreign countries; than which, nothing tends so much to remove those prejudices which are the usual sources of credulity. Now, with these advantages, and many more that might be enumerated, such as the freedom of the press, and of discussion in their public assemblies, that they should continue the most credulous and easy to be duped of all the nations in Europe, is certainly most extraordinary, and in our opinion quite incredible. The truth is, this notion seems to arise altogether from the circumstance of the great number of quacks that infest this country, and the great and rapid fortunes that have been made by some of these impostors. But the great riches of England, and the rapid circulation of wealth throughout all parts of the country, is of itself sufficient to attract these needy adventurers to its shores: and when we consider the advantages and facilities afforded them by the quick communication and intercourse that is maintained with every part of the country, and, above all, by means of the newspapers, to which they chiefly trust for the extension of their fame, we need no longer marvel at their predilection for England, and their uncommon success. Besides, the superstitious belief in the efficacy of relics, and the miraculous power of their tutelary saints, which still maintains its ground in many parts of Europe, must operate powerfully against these profane doctors, and drive them to a part of the world where these superstitions no longer prevail: for it is certainly a very just remark which is here quoted from the ingenious

Lady Mary W. Montague, that 'quacks are despised in countries where they have shrines and images.'

We are here presented with a variety of anecdotes of some of the most celebrated of those worthies, and an amusing account of some of their tricks and arts of deception; which concludes with a full detail of that most extraordinary of all quackeries, the theory of animal magnetism, which, to the disgrace of Europe, not forty years ago, attracted such a share of public attention. He takes the pains to give us the substance of the lectures of Mainauduc, who was the teacher of this new system of physics in this country. But we will not, by any extracts, attempt to draw our readers' attention to a subject that is happily now almost entirely forgotten.

A large portion of the third volume, on which we now enter, is occupied with an account of the different religious sects which chiefly prevail in England. We have a good account of the rise and progress of Methodism, and a variety of anecdotes of Wesley and Whitfield, the Calvin and Luther, as our author calls them, of this schism. The character and adventures of these two personages is so very generally known to the public, that it would be idle to give any part of their history here. But the following account of one of the sect, who has chosen to secede from the government of the general body, presents such a curious picture of human nature, that we are tempted to extract it for the amusement of our readers.

'One of these independent chieftains has published an account of himself, which he calls God the Guardian of the Poor and the Bank of Faith. His name is William Huntingdon, and he styles himself S. S. which signifies Sinner Saved.

'The tale which this man tells is truly curious. He was originally a coal-heaver, one of those men whose occupation and singular appearance I have noticed in a former letter: But finding praying and preaching a more promising trade, he ventured upon the experiment of living by faith alone; and the experiment has answered. The man had talents, and soon obtained hearers. It was easy to let them know, without asking for either, that he relied upon them for food and clothing. At first supplies came in slowly,—a pound of tea, and a pound of sugar at a time, and sometimes an old suit of clothes. As he got more hearers, they found out that it was for their credit he should make a better appearance in the world. If at any time things did not come when they were wanted, he prayed for them, knowing well where his prayers would be heard. As a specimen, take a story which I shall annex in his own words, that the original may prove the truth of the translation, which might else not unreasonably be suspected.

"Having now had my horse for some time, and riding a great deal every week, I soon wore my *breeches* out, as they were not fit to ride in.

I hope the reader will excuse my mentioning the word *breeches*, which I should have avoided, had not this passage of scriptute obtruded into my mind, just as I had resolved in my own thoughts not to mention this kind providence of God. 'And thou shalt make linen breeches to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs shall they reach,' &c. Exod. xxviii. 42, 43. By which and three others, (namely, Ezek. xliv. 18; Lev. vi. 10; and Lev. xvi. 4.), I saw that it was no crime to mention the word *breeches*, nor the way in which God sent them to me; Aaron and his sons being clothed entirely by Providence, and as God himself condescended to give orders what they should be made of, and how they should be cut; and I believe the same God ordered mine, as I trust it will appear in the following history.

"The scripture tells us to call no man master, for one is our master, even Christ. I therefore told my most bountiful and ever-adored Master what I wanted; and he, who stripped Adam and Eve of their fig-leaved aprons, and made coats of skins and clothed them, and who clothes the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, must clothe us, or we shall soon go naked; and so Israel found it when God took away his wool and his flax, which they prepared for Baal: for which iniquity was their skirts discovered, and their heels made bare. Jer. xiii. 22.

"I often made very free in my prayers with my valuable Master for this favour; but he still kept me so amazingly poor, that I could not get them at any rate. At last I was determined to go to a friend of mine at Kingston, who is of that branch of business, to bespeak a pair; and to get him to trust me until my Master sent me money to pay him. I was that day going to London, fully determined to bespeak them as I rode through the town. However, when I passed the shop I forgot it; but when I came to London, I called on Mr Croucher, a shoemaker in Shepherd's Market, who told me a parcel was left there for me; but what it was he knew not. I opened it, and behold there was a pair of *leather breeches* with a note in them! the substance of which was, to the best of my remembrance, as follows.

"'Sir,—I have sent you a pair of breeches, and hope they will fit. I beg your acceptance of them; and, if they want any alteration, leave in a note what the alteration is, and I will call in a few days and alter them. J. S.'

"I tried them on, and they fitted as well as if I had been measured for them; at which I was amazed, having never been measured by any leather-breeches maker in London. I wrote an answer to the note to this effect.

"'Sir,—I received your present, and thank you for it. I was going to order a pair of leather breeches to be made, because I did not know till now that my Master had bespoke them of you. They fit very well; which fully convinces me that the same God, who moved thy heart to give, guided thy hand to cut; because he perfectly knows my size, having clothed me in a miraculous manner for near five years.

When you are in trouble, Sir, I hope you will tell my Master of this, and what you have done for me, and he will repay you with honour.'

" This is as nearly as I am able to relate it; and I added,

" ' I cannot make out I. S. unless I put I. for Israelite indeed, and S. for Sincerity; because you did not sound a trumpet before you as the hypocrites do.'

" About that time twelvemonth I got another pair of breeches in the same extraordinary manner, without my ever being measured for them."

' Step by step, by drawing on his Master as he calls him, and persuading the congregation to accept his drafts, this Sinner Saved has got two chapels of his own, a house in the country, and a coach to carry him backwards and forwards.' III. 20—26.

The Methodists certainly gain ground in all parts of the country; and their numbers are so great, and their progress so rapid, that our author is of opinion that the safety of the established Church is seriously threatened. In the account of the Quakers, there is little to attract our notice. The following observations on their character, are certainly striking.

' What is truly extraordinary is, that though they seem to have advanced to the utmost limits of enthusiasm as well as of heresy, so far from being enthusiastic, they are proverbially deliberate and prudent; so far from being sullen and gloomy, as their prohibitions might induce you to suppose, they are remarkably cheerful: they are universally admitted to be the most respectable sect in England: and though they have a church without a priesthood, and a government without a head, they are perhaps the best organized and most unanimous society that ever existed.' III. 75.

This sect is represented, and we believe truly, to be in rather a declining state. We are next presented with a number of extracts from the insane ravings of Emanuel Swedenborg, which our readers will readily excuse us for passing over in silence. The disciples of this very prolix and fanciful dreamer have, we believe, made but very slender progress in this country.

A number of letters follow, containing an account of some of those impostors, madmen, and fanatics, who, in spite of their gross absurdity and vulgarity, have succeeded in attracting the public attention; such as Richard Brothers, Joanna Southcott, and others of that description. The author has taken a good deal of pains in examining a great variety of pamphlets published by those wretched impostors and their dupes. That the writers of such a mass of blasphemous impiety, idiocy and brutal vulgarity as is here exposed, instead of receiving the wholesome discipline of the house of correction, should have succeeded in making thousands of proselytes, and should even have been cherished and encouraged by some individuals in a respectable station, is won-

XUM

derful, and certainly most disgraceful to this country. That such things should be, in the present enlightened state of society, is scarcely credible: but though our author may have somewhat exaggerated the numbers of those who have been influenced by this strange insanity, we are afraid the main fact is too notorious to be denied.

The renewal of hostilities with France leads to some general political speculations. The writer is of opinion that England has nothing to fear from the power of a foreign enemy; but predicts our certain ruin from the baneful effects of our manufacturing system, that object of his constant reprobation, all the evils of which he once more marshals in frightful array. Our limits will not permit us to make any more extracts; but we make room for the following striking remarks on the effects of taxation on a certain class of the community.

'The gentry of small fortune have also disappeared. The colonial war bore hard upon them, but the last has crushed them. Inheriting what to their forefathers had been an ample subsistence, they have found themselves step by step curtailed of the luxuries, and at last of the comforts of life, without a possibility of helping themselves. For those who were arrived at manhood it was too late to enter into any profession; and to embark what they possessed in trade was hazarding all, and putting themselves at the mercy of a partner. Meantime, year after year the price of every article of necessary consumption has increased with accelerating rapidity: education has become more costly, and at the same time more indispensable; and taxation year after year falls heavier, while the means of payment become less. In vain does he whose father has lived in opulence, and whom the villagers with hereditary respect still address hat in hand, or bow to as they pass—in vain does he put down the carriage, dismiss the footman, and block up windows even in the house front. There is no escape. Wine disappears from his side-board; there is no longer a table ready for his friend; the priest is no longer invited after service; all will not do:—his boys must out to sea, or seek their fortune in trade; his girls sink lower, and become dependants on the rich, or maintain themselves by the needle, while he mortgages the land for immediate subsistence, deeper and deeper, as the burden of the times presses heavier and heavier; and happy is he if it lasts long enough to keep him from absolute want before he sinks into the grave.' III. 119, 120.

The remaining part of the book will not detain us long; it is particularly uninteresting and trifling. After a few letters on card-playing, fashions, tops, &c. &c. our Spaniard leaves London, and proceeds through Bath, Bristol, &c. to Falmouth, where he embarks and takes his final leave of England. In his account of the fashions and fashionables, he does not attempt to give any description of the modes of life of those in the higher ranks; in-

deed, it is somewhat remarkable, that throughout the whole book, we are never once introduced into the polite circles about court. The author might have managed this very easily for Don Manuel; and in a work professing to give an account of the manners of a nation, it is a very important omission. The picture he gives us of a fop, seems to be drawn entirely from his own fancy, and is a complete caricature; our readers may judge of the whole, from the following sketch of their intellectual endowments.

'Their fouls might be lodged in a nutfhell without incommoding the maggot who previoufly tenanted it; and if the whole ftock of their ideas were transferred to the maggot, they would not be fufficient to confufe his own. It is impoffible to defcribe them, becaufe no idea can be formed of infinite littlenefs; you might as reafonably attempt to diffect a bubble, or to bottle moonfhine, as to inveftigate their characters; they prove fatisfactorily the exiftence of a vacuum: the fum total of their being is compofed of negative quantities.' III. 302, 303.

There is a great deal of this flippant, affected style of writing in these letters, and many abortive attempts at wit and satire, which is often directed to subjects far above the author's reach, as in the following instance.

'At prefent the Engliſh philofophers and politicians, both male and female, are in a ftate of great alarm. It has been difcovered that the world is over-peopled, and that it always muft be fo, from an error in the conftitution of nature;—that the law which fays "Increafe and multiply," was given without fufficient conſideration;—in fhort, that He who made the world does not know how to manage it properly, and therefore there are ſerious thoughts of requeſting the Engliſh parliament to take the buſineſs out of his hands.' III. 316, 317.

This, to say the least of it, is very pitiful impertinence. In the journey to Falmouth there is nothing that particularly attracts our attention. We have short descriptions of Bath and Bristol, interspersed with a variety of anecdotes in his usual taste, from which we shall make no further extracts, as we believe our readers will think we have been already sufficiently liberal.

Upon the whole, though we cannot complain of Don Manuel for being a dull or tedious companion, we part from him without any feeling of regret or respect. He is very conceited, shallow, and dogmatical; full of exaggerations and discontents, and quite destitute of that tone of good company which can make trifling graceful, and presumption inoffensive. His pleasantries and anecdotes, are such as might be collected in the traveller's apartment of any well frequented inn; and the greater part of his reasonings are evidently the productions of a mind accustomed either to indulge in solitary and unchecked speculation, or to predominate in a society of still humbler qualifications. There is a good deal of cleverness displayed in the work, and for the most part a

tone of right feeling; but the petulance of the author's manner entirely destroys his respectability; and the value he evidently sets on the odd and minute observations it contains, makes them appear, to an indifferent reader, still more insignificant perhaps than they really are. No one, we conceive, who reads the book, can for a moment suppose it to be the work of a foreigner. We have seldom seen a character, indeed, worse dressed or supported; and no one is in any danger of being imposed on by the Spanish title, who would not believe in the reality of ghosts at the playhouse, or vestal virgins at the masquerade. We have not thought it necessary to produce any proofs of a deception which we cannot imagine intended to be effectual. The whole strain of the sentiment and diction is manifestly English; and the author cannot even refrain from indulging himself in a variety of *puns* and verbal pleasantries, to which it would not be easy to find an equivalent in 'the original Spanish.'

ART. VIII. *The Bakerian Lecture on some Chemical Agencies of Electricity.* By HUMPHRY DAVY, Esq. Sec. R. S. M. R. I. A. Prof. Chem. R. J.

(*From the Phil. Trans. for* 1807. Part I.)

IT is no small proof of Mr Davy's natural talents and strength of mind, that they have escaped unimpaired from the enervating influence of the Royal Institution; and indeed grown prodigiously in that thick medium of fashionable philosophy. The paper now before us is by far the most important addition which his labours have yet made to the stock of physical science; it contains one or two discoveries of considerable intrinsic value, and opens a field of research almost new and altogether unbounded. He has, since the publication of it, if we are not misinformed, begun to enter upon this field, and has been rewarded for his toil and ingenuity, by the most brilliant discovery which has adorned the annals of chemistry from the foundation of the new theory to the present day. As soon as his own account of these experiments is given to the world, we shall call the attention of our readers to it. In the mean time, it will both prepare the way for examining that discovery, and divert somewhat of the impatience which our readers, in common with ourselves, cannot avoid feeling, until the details of it are made known, if we endeavour to make them acquainted with the substance and merits of the present communication.

The first set of experiments described in this paper was insti-

tuted with a view to ascertain, with greater accuracy than had hitherto been attained, the sources of the acid and alkali observed to be produced when distilled water is submitted to the action of the galvanic fluid. Mr Davy, with several of our best chemists, had ascribed this phenomenon to certain impurities in the water, and ingredients in the composition of the glass and the conductors; which others of inferior note had denied. The question is now discussed in a very satisfactory manner; and, we may say, set completely at rest. We cannot pretend to follow the train of the experiments, but shall endeavour to give a general outline of them.

Two cups, tubes, cones, or other vessels capable of containing water, and made of various substances successively, were connected together by films of pure amianthus, and connected with the positive and negative ends respectively of the pile of Volta, by means of platina wires. The pile was a strong one, generally consisting of 100 or 150 plates of zinc and copper, six inches square, and moistened with alum, or alum and diluted sulphuric acid. The water in the vessels being exposed to the action of this pile, after a certain time became acid in the positive vessel, and alkaline in the negative. When the vessels were of glass, the alkali was much greater in quantity (about twenty times) than when they were of agate. The same process, too, in the latter case, being repeatedly tried with the same cups, though the acid continued to be abundantly produced on the positive side, the quantity of the alkali was diminished greatly in the negative tube. Still, however, some was produced; and, after several repetitions of the process, the quantity continued stationary, being extremely small, though perceptible. It was natural, therefore, to suspect the water of having some alkaline impurities. The process was now repeated with small vessels of pure gold, and in ten minutes the negative vessel had attained its maximum of alkali; for the action being continued for fourteen hours, while the water in the positive vessel became constantly more acid, the water in the negative side was not sensibly changed; and after three days more had elapsed, the acid became still stronger, the alkali remaining as before. By evaporating a quart of the same distilled water, seven tenths of a grain of solid matter were obtained, consisting of nitrate of soda, and nitrate of lead, the latter apparently from the still. The galvanic experiment was then repeated in agate vessels much used, and in gold vessels, with the water thus purified by evaporation; and no alkali was produced in the negative vessel. The substances of the vessels being varied, different acids and alkalis were produced in the opposite sides of the circuit. Thus wax tubes gave for the acid matter, a mixture of sulphuric, muriatic, and nitric acids;

for the alkaline, soda and potash; and Carrara marble gave lime-water continually, and at first a mixture of lime-water and fixed alkali. But in all the experiments nitrous acid was produced in the positive side, constantly to the end of the process; and a small quantity of ammonia was regularly formed in the negative side, at the beginning of the process. For the purpose of rendering still more indubitable the inference to which all these experiments point, the process with purified water in golden vessels was performed during many hours in the receiver of an air-pump, exhausted sixty-four times; and then in a receiver filled with hydrogen gas. In neither case was there the smallest particle of alkali produced; in the former, there was a most minute portion of acid; in the latter, none whatever.

Nothing, certainly, can be more satisfactory than the result which all these most elaborate experiments concur in pointing out; and we may conclude with perfect confidence, that wherever an acid, or an alkaline matter is produced by subjecting water to the action of the galvanic fluid, the latter of these bodies is evolved, either from the impurities of the water, or from the materials of the vessels; and the former from the vessels, or the impurities of the water, or the union of one of the constituent parts of the water with the azote which it has absorbed from the air. And the only case in which an alkali is really formed, is where ammonia results from the union of the hydrogen of the water with the azote dissolved in it.

There is one fact common to every one of these experiments, which indeed had attracted some attention from the first application of galvanism to chemical inquiries, but was never placed in so striking and steady a light as by the processes just now analyzed. We allude to the uniform and exclusive appearance of the alkali, where any was evolved, at the negative surface; and of the acid at the positive surface. Mr Davy's first set of experiments, being made with a view to explain what effects certain impurities and extraneous substances produced on water in the galvanic circuit, had no immediate or direct reference to the action of the fluid on these substances, which were, indeed, accidental to the different processes. But the observation of the fact now mentioned, naturally led him to examine more fully the laws of this action, by exposing to it a variety of known substances. He began with a set of experiments upon insoluble bodies, containing large quantities of acid and alkaline matter, repeating, in fact, the process so often referred to, with two cups made successively of sulphates of lime, strontites, and barytes, and fluate of lime, connected together either by pieces of the same earths, or by asbestus. The water in the positive cup, was always, as the process went on, mixed with more and more sulphuric or fluoric acid; and in the

negative cup; it was uniformly converted into limewater, or had a mixture of strontites, or a crust of barytes, carbonated by the contact of the atmosphere. Insoluble substances, containing very minute portions of acid and alkali, were next exposed to a similar process; and the negative side uniformly extracted the alkali, the positive side the acid, be the quantities ever so small. Soluble bodies were then examined in like manner, being subjected to the galvanic fluid in agate cups, and dissolved in pure water. The separation here went on much more rapidly, but it followed the same rules. The negative cup contained a solution of alkali, or a deposite of earth or metallic crystals, according to the compound neutral employed; the positive cup uniformly contained a great excess of acid; a muriatic salt gave oxymuriatic acid in the positive cup. The stronger the solution exposed in these experiments, the quicker was the change produced; but the smallest portion of acid and alkali was always detected; and the separation, at the end of the process, was as complete as at first.

Two foreign chemists of reputation, Messrs Hisinger and Berselius, had made an experiment, in which muriate of lime being exposed in the positive side of a syphon, and pure water in the negative, the action of the galvanic fluid made lime appear in the water: so extraordinary a discovery, merited every degree of attention. Mr Davy immediately pursued it, upon the plan of his former experiments. His first inquiry was into the manner of the passage here remarked, through a menstruum not chemically attracting the substance which passed over. An agate cup, for example, filled with water, was connected with a cup of sulphate of lime, by moistened asbestus: if the former was positively electrified, acid soon came over; if negatively, lime came over. Metals and metallic oxides passed over to the negative cup, like alkalis and alkaline earths; and, in one beautiful experiment, where nitrate of silver was placed in the positive side, the amianthus between the cups appeared covered with a thin silver film. The transference went on slower, in proportion to the body of water through which it was performed: when the wires were only an inch asunder, sulphuric acid came over from sulphate of potash in five minutes; nor was contact with either electrified surface, necessary in these experiments. A vessel of solution of muriate of potash, being connected by amianthus with two glass tubes filled with water, the one negatively, the other positively electrified; by degrees, the alkali went over into the former, and the acid into the latter. But one of the most singular parts of this process, is, that the acid and the alkali, in passing from one vessel to another, through any intermediate body of water, or over the surface of the amianthus, do not change the vegetable colours in their way, ex-

cept in so far as they come in contact with them at the positive and negative sides respectively; *e. g.* the acid passes over the negative portion of a solution of litmus without reddening it; and the alkali does not render turmeric brown by passing over it at the positive side.

A considerable step was now made from the point at which our author had set out. He had satisfactorily ascertained the regular decomposition of bodies containing acids united with alkalis or metallic bases; the constant preference of the acid for the positive side, and of the alkaline or metallic base for the negative; and the actual transference by perceptible motion of those substances from one part to another of the electrical circuit; circumstances which had been vaguely remarked by former observers. But he now was led a step further, and perceived a phenomenon perfectly different in kind from any thing which their experiments had made known. He found, that the action of the acids and alkalis on vegetable colours was suspended by the electrical state of those bodies; and that the influence of chemical affinity, in this instance at least, was superseded by the powers of electricity: for on what, but chemical affinity, does the action of salts upon colours depend? This singular fact, however, deserved a more careful examination, and obviously suggested a set of experiments upon the influence of electricity in various other processes of elective attraction.

The same general form of experiment was here again employed. Two glass tubes were connected with the positive and negative wires of the pile, and each was connected with a third vessel by films of amianthus. In the third vessel various substances were successively placed, having a known chemical affinity for the component parts of the substances in the two tubes; and those parts were made to pass through the contents of the third vessel, by the action of the galvanic fluid. Thus, sulphate of potash being placed in the negative tube, distilled water in the positive, and ammonia in the middle vessel, the action of the pile sent the acid over into the water, and through the ammoniacal solution, in a longer or shorter time, in proportion to the strength of that solution. When it was weak, the acid would tinge the water in five minutes; but, even through the most saturated lixivium it never failed to come in a certain time. The other acids passed in the same manner; and by a similar process the alkalis and alkaline earths were sent through the acids according to the like rules; only that strontites and barytes passed with very great difficulty through sulphuric acid, and transmitted sulphuric acid with proportionate slowness, and in very small quantities. When the acids and alkalis were passed through neutral salts in the intermediate vessel, the alkali of the latter soon appeared in the

negative tube, and the passage of the alkali from the positive tube went on slowly, sometimes never being completed; as when it united with the remaining acid of the intermediate vessel and formed an insoluble compound, which fell immediately down beyond the sphere of the electrical action. Thus barytes could not be transmitted through sulphate of potash, though the galvanic process brought it from muriatic acid in the positive, to the sulphuric acid in the intermediate vessel, and at the same time brought the potash from the intermediate into the negative vessel. Animal and vegetable substances were quickly decomposed in similar experiments; and their constituent parts either separated purely, or recombined with other bodies exhibited to them, according to the general rules which the salts and metals follow.

A few experiments only were necessary to demonstrate, that in all the processes now described, the matter, or energy, or galvanism, or whatever it may be called, which operates in the pile of Volta, is identical with common electricity. Our author produced several of the same decompositions and transferences, by means of a powerful electrical machine, in the same manner as with the galvanic pile. 'It will be a general expression (says Mr Davy) of the facts that have been detailed, relating to the changes and transitions by electricity, in common philosophical language, to say that hydrogene, the alkaline substances, the metals, and certain metallic oxides, are attracted by negatively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by positively electrified metallic surfaces; and, contrariwise, that oxygene and acid substances are attracted by positively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by negatively electrified metallic surfaces; and these attractive and repulsive forces are sufficiently energetic to destroy or suspend the usual operation of elective affinity.' He thinks it further proved by his experiments, that a chain of homogeneous particles is kept up from one surface to another, along the circuit, by means of the electrical energy; for he observed, that so long as any of the matter transferred remained in the vessel, the chain of particles of that matter existed all along the circuit, and was only destroyed, or drawn over into the other vessel, after the first reservoir had been exhausted. That successive compositions and decompositions take place while substances pass through solutions of neutral salts, he conceives, is rendered very probable by the impossibility of completely bringing over such substances as form heavy compounds in their way, and fall down, so as to escape the limits of the electrical circuit.

The inquiries of our author are next directed to trace the analogy between the singular phenomena above described, and other known facts relating to the electrical changes superinduced in dif-

ferent bodies by their mutual contacts, and the tendencies to unite which opposite states of electricity may create. The various experiments which he instituted upon this subject, are incapable of a general abridgement. We shall only observe that he found that the acids and alkalis, which could be exhibited in a solid state, gave plain indications of negative and positive electricity, respectively, upon being brought in contact with metallic plates. Thus, boracic acid, being touched with an insulated copperplate, became negative, and left the plate positive; lime, on the other hand, being treated in the same way, was positive, and the plate negative. Mr Davy is disposed, from these and similar considerations, to conjecture, that the chemical affinities of bodies depend on their natural state of electricity; that some being always, when in their natural state, positively, and others negatively electrified, the two classes combine in consequence of this; that when their natural electricity is augmented, their tendency to unite is increased, and that this tendency is destroyed by an electrization, of a contrary, and as it were, an unnatural kind. Thus, an acid and an alkali having opposite electricities, unite readily; if their degrees of electricity are nearly equal in opposite directions they unite with the greater force; if those degrees of electricity are made stronger artificially, these bodies combine still more readily; if they are artificially reversed, and the acid made positive, and the alkali negative, no union is produced. Of the general theory thus hinted at, it is no small confirmation, that perfectly neutral salts show no symptoms of either positive or negative electricity; and that bodies having very strong degrees of opposite electricity, are restored to equilibrium, with an evolution of heat, and even of light and heat; while bodies show a similar phenomenon, when their union is effected by means of chemical action. It may likewise be observed, that Guyton de Morveau found the mechanical adhesion of the metals to mercury was in proportion to their chemical affinity with it. Mr Davy, admitting this to have been established by his experiments (though we wish he had repeated and varied them himself, as they were liable to a serious objection*), remarks, that it supports

* Mr Davy hints at this in a note, observing, 'that amalgamation must have interfered, but that the *general* result seems distinct.' If we remember right, the polished plate of metal was let down upon the surface of mercury from one end of a delicate balance, and the weight necessary to draw it up from the contact was marked. It is clear that there must have been a chemical union at the bottom surface, where the metal used had a considerable affinity with mercury. —The employment of mercury is itself a suspicious circumstance. Polished plates of solid metal cohere strongly, and why does the comparative trial not answer here?

his hypothesis; for he finds those metals which, in Mr Guyton's experiments, adhered most strongly to the mercury, are those which charge a condensing electrometer most highly.

Mr Davy's paper concludes with a number of ingenious and important observations on the general inquiries to which his experiments lead, the phenomena which they enable us to explain, and the more practical uses to which they may hereafter be applied. As this branch of the discourse consists of a series of detached remarks, we shall not attempt to analyze it, but shall content ourselves with extracting a few of them for a specimen.

'A piece of muscular fibre, of two inches long, and half an inch in diameter, after being electrified by the power of 150° for five days, became perfectly dry and hard, and left on incineration no saline matter. Potash, soda, ammonia, lime, and oxide of iron were evolved from it on the negative side, and the three common mineral acids and the phosphoric acid were given out on the positive side.

'A laurel leaf treated in the same manner, appeared as if it had been exposed to a heat of 500° or 600° Fahrenheit, and was brown and parched. Green colouring matter, with resin, alkali, and lime, appeared in the negative vessel: and the positive vessel contained a clear fluid, which had the smell of peach blossoms; and which, when neutralized by potash, give a blue-green precipitate to solution of sulphate of iron; so that it contained vegetable prussic acid.

'A small plant of mint, in a state of healthy vegetation, was made the medium of connexion in the battery, its extremities being in contact with pure water: the process was carried on for 10 minutes: potash and lime were found in the negatively electrified water, and acid matter in the positively electrified water, which occasioned a precipitate in solutions of muriate of barytes, nitrate of silver, and muriate of lime. This plant recovered after the process: but a similar one, that had been electrified for four hours with like results, faded and died. The facts show that the electrical powers of decomposition act even upon living vegetable matter; and there are some phenomena which seem to prove that they operate likewise upon living animal systems. When the fingers, after having been carefully washed with pure water, are brought in contact with this fluid in the positive part of the circuit, acid matter is rapidly developed, having the characters of a mixture of muriatic, phosphoric, and sulphuric acids: and if a similar trial be made in the negative part, fixed alkaline matter is as quickly exhibited.

'The acid and alkaline tastes produced upon the tongue, in Galvanic experiments, seem to depend upon the decomposition of the saline matter contained in the living animal substance, and perhaps in the saliva.

'As acid and alkaline substances are capable of being separated from their combinations in living systems by electrical powers, there is every reason to believe that by converse methods they may be likewise introduced into the animal economy, or made to pass through the

animal organs: and the same thing may be supposed of metallic oxides; and these ideas ought to lead to some new investigations in medicine and physiology.' p. 52, 53.

We have thus introduced our readers to the important facts recorded in Mr Davy's very interesting communication. Satisfied that the experimental investigation itself is the most material part of the work, that we are as yet only on the verge of a much wider field, and that the facts already within our reach are insufficient for the foundation of a general theory, we have deemed it proper to confine our attention almost exclusively to a history of the subject, in so far as it is before us; and, without entering into any discussion of the hypotheses struck out by Mr Davy, or even of the inferences which he is entitled to draw, we have reserved for a more mature branch of the Inquiry, whatever we may have to deliver on these heads. In so doing, we have indeed only followed our author's own example; for nothing is more praiseworthy in his treatise, than the caution and modesty with which he ventures to suggest, rather than lay down, his theoretical opinions; and he uniformly keeps them in the background, applying himself almost exclusively to the multiplication of facts, and repeatedly admitting that the time for theorizing is not yet come. Even at present, however, and while awaiting, with impatience, the continuance of his investigations, we may be permitted to express the delight which we have received from his strict and patient induction. The chain of experiments by which he removes all the difficulties and obscurity that hitherto hung over the changes produced in water by Galvanic action, is surpassed by no inquiry of the kind, in modern times, for closeness, copiousness, and minute accuracy. The examination of it gives us an irresistible disposition to confide in all the other processes of the author, which he passes over more hastily, or only refers to in general terms. The felicity with which he seizes and follows up the loose hints thrown out by other inquirers, and pursues also the various paths opened incidentally by his own preliminary course of experiments, must take away all the envy one might be apt to feel towards a person who, without so excellent a title, had, by happy chances, made such a progress in valuable discovery as has rewarded his labours. Whatever Mr Davy has done in this Inquiry, and all the more wonderful things which he has since accomplished, are the fair fruits of the industry and ability shown in the painful researches above analyzed. We shall wait with some impatience, until the remaining part of his Galvanic experiments are laid before the public; and shall then gladly resume the discussion, both for the sake of continuing our account of his progress, and of entering into an examination of the general reasonings.

ART. IX. *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq., in Verse and Prose; containing the principal Notes of Drs Warburton and Warton; to which are added some Original Letters.* By the Rev. WILLIAM LISLE BOWLES. 10 volumes 8vo. London, 1806.

THERE is something very perverse in the irregularity with which fortune distributes to literary men their chief sustenance—reputation. To some she gives full measure, and present payment; they live with nobles, and are buried among kings; they are worshipped by friends and flatterers; they exercise a sort of tyranny over the public taste, and the credit of their contemporaries; and after multiplying their acknowledged writings without any stint, but that which their own indolence or discretion may impose, there is still an abundant harvest remaining of private correspondence; and whole volumes of *ana* and anecdotes are hashed up out of their sayings. A less fortunate class have nothing in this world to comfort them, but that last solace of poor poets and scholars—the hope of posthumous fame from a wiser posterity; and to take off again from even this scanty pittance, they must be aware that posterity, even if it showers applause upon their labours, may be able to trace little more of themselves than could be discovered of P. P. clerk of the parish; that he walked about with a black and white cat, and swallowed loaches. Homer is, in fact, only a shorter expression for the anonymous author of the Iliad; we have just a trifle more about Pindar; we have some little light respecting Virgil; can tell still more of Shakespeare; and a good deal about Milton. But the three writers, of our own country at least, who seem to bask in the fullest sunshine of reputation, are Pope, Swift, and Johnson. They have fallen into the hands of portrait-painters, who think shadow unnecessary, and disdain that discreet management of the pencil, which keeps down certain parts of the picture, were it only to give relief to others. We own that the public are against us, who seem to crave insatiably for these literary morsels: but it does appear to us, that a man may have too much said about him, as well as too little; and that many a distinguished character may be the loser by showing the world, amidst all the blaze of hot-pressed paper, in what terms he gave orders to his steward, and with what compliments he returned thanks for a haunch of venison. Indeed, we almost doubt whether the possible existence of future Nicholses, Malones, and Chalmerses, events against which we see no security, is not a drawback upon literary exertion; and we put it to any modest young man who intends to obtain immortal renown, whether the consciousness that he is

living, like the Bonzes, in a house of glass, that all his loose sayings are sure to be as eternal as his writings, does not inspire, from time to time, an irksome and painful sensation.

The works of Pope were published soon after his death, by his friend and executor Warburton, in nine volumes, containing as well those poems upon which his fame most depends, as a collection of letters, copious enough, one would think, to satisfy the public curiosity for such compositions. By degrees, a few trifling poems, and some more letters became public: and Dr Joseph Warton, in 1797, added these, with as much more as he could scrape together, to Warburton's edition; cutting down, at the same time, his own essay on the writings and genius of Pope, published in 1761, into shreds and patches of notes, which he interspersed with those of Warburton. Mr Bowles has now republished Warton's edition, with a few letters which were not included in it. His own share of this edition consists of a life, a variety of notes, in addition to those of the preceding editors, and concluding observations on the poetical character of Pope.

The partiality of editors is not more notorious than natural. If an author is as a parent to his works, an editor is at least a guardian; he is *loco parentis;* and while he is bound to protect the inheritance from wrong, may be expected also to feel some little tenderness for the heir. There have been those, however, who, from this weakness, have seemed to lye under the opposite bias, and have endeavoured, rather to dispossess the world of too favourable an idea of their author, than to varnish over his failings. Of Pope's three critical commentators, Warburton is an indiscriminate and sophistical eulogist; Warton is, generally, candid and impartial; but Mr Bowles, we think, almost always evinces an adverse prepossession. The tone, indeed, of his own poetical feelings is so little in unison with his author, that one is led to wonder that he should have taken upon him a labour, the burthen of which could not have been alleviated by much zeal and interest about his subject.

The life of Pope is one of the finest, as well as most elaborate, which Johnson has written. He seems to have been more on his guard than was usual with him, against a secret ill-will, and perhaps jealousy, which he had imbibed; and, in the present state of public opinion respecting Pope, that suffrage may be deemed favourable, which would have been spurned half a century since as the fruit of bad taste or malignity. If he has left on the mind an impression of dislike towards Pope's moral character, the cause, we fear, must be found rather in the plain truth of his story, than in his own commentary. Mr Bowles is more studious in bringing forward and dwelling upon the blemishes of his

author's disposition; but, in fact, they speak pretty plainly for themselves; and we stand in need of no guide-post to direct our contempt towards duplicity and cowardice. Perhaps, however, an editor might have done more for the brighter parts of the subject, and pointed out more fully that remarkable sensibility and tenderness of heart, which beamed through Pope's natural selfishness, and turned his connexions, even with the great, into real and ardent friendships.

The following account of the 'Unfortunate Lady,' is curious.

'The story which was told to Condorcet by Voltaire, and by Condorcet to a gentleman of high birth and character, from whom I received it, is this. 'That her attachment was not to Pope, or to any Englishman of inferior degree;' but to a young French prince of the blood-royal, Charles Emmanuel Duke of Berry, whom, in early youth, she had met at the court of France. In 1710, if we give this date to the elegy, the Duke of Berry must have been in his twenty-fourth year, being born 1686.

'The verses certainly seem unintelligible, unless they allude to some connexion, to which her highest hopes, though nobly connected herself, could not aspire. What other sense can be given to these words?

"Why bade ye, else, ye powers, her soul aspire
"Beyond the vulgar flight of low desire?
"Ambition first sprung from your bright abodes,
"The glorious fault of angels and of gods!"

'She was herself of a noble family, or there can be no meaning in the line,

"That once had honour, virtue, titles, fame."

Under the idea here suggested, a greater propriety is given to the verse, which otherwise appears so tame and common-place,

"'Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be." Vol. I. p. xxxii.

Mr Bowles justifies Addison, at some length, from the charge which Pope and all the world, since the publication of Pope's lines on Atticus, have brought against him, of disingenuously writing a translation of the first Iliad in Tickell's name. There is a similar defence of Addison in Bishop Hurd's Life of Warburton, which Mr Bowles has not quoted; it is said to have been satisfactory to Warburton himself.

The passion of Pope for the Misses Blount, which is almost passed over by Johnson, is put in a striking light by Mr Bowles.

'A friendly but indefinite connexion, a strange mixture of passion, gallantry, licentiousness, and kindness, had long taken place between himself and the Miss Blounts. It has been said, that Teresa was the first object of his attention. For some time his partiality seems to have been wavering. He was consulted, and interested himself in the affairs of the family; for the father died in 1710. After some misunderstanding, mutual bickerings, and complaints with Teresa, he

finally set his heart on Martha. She was neither so handsome nor intelligent as her sister; and, to be admired by a man so celebrated as a wit, was the more grateful, as it flattered her understanding, the point in which she was most deficient.'

The curious letters which passed between him and her sister Teresa, published in the tenth volume, will show the decline and termination of their connexion, as well as evince how much he felt on the occasion.

As these letters are without date, we cannot say exactly when they were written. Pope seems to have fixed his regard solely on Martha so early as 1714; for he says, in one letter,

"In these overflowings of my heart, I pay you my thanks for those two obliging letters you favoured me with, of the 18th and 24th instant. That which begins with "My charming Mr Pope!" was a delight to me beyond all expression. You have at last entirely gained the conquest over your fair sister. 'Tis true, you are not handsome, for you are a woman, and think you are not; but this good-humour and tenderness for me has a charm that cannot be resisted. That face must needs be irresistible, which was adorned with smiles even when it could not see the coronation."

'Though it is hardly worth noticing, my opinion is, that after this letter, the public appearance of Teresa in town at the coronation, revived all his suppressed tenderness; and the most direct addresses to Martha were not conceived till after the coolness of Lady Mary, and the death of the brother in 1726.

'Pope, however, was in this respect a politician; and he carefully, to the family at least, avoided any expression in his letters that might be construed into a direct avowal; and when his warmth sometimes betrayed him, he generally contrived to make old Mrs Blount and her other daughter parties, so that whatever was said might appear only the dictates of general kindness.

'On the death of their brother, his intimate friend and correspondent, he seems to speak more openly his undisguised sentiments to Martha, who from this time became his confidant, having admitted a connexion which subjected her to some ridicule, but which ended only with his life. Pope was now in his 38th year. He was never indifferent to female society; and though his good sense prevented him, conscious of so many personal infirmities, from marrying, yet he felt the want of that sort of reciprocal tenderness and confidence in a female, to whom he might freely communicate his thoughts, and on whom, in sickness and infirmity, he could rely. All this Martha Blount became to him; by degrees she became identified with his existence. She partook of his disappointments, his vexations, and his comforts. Wherever he went, his correspondence with her was never remitted; and when the warmth of gallantry was over, the cherished idea of kindness and regard remained.' I. p. lxix.

Of this remarkable attachment, which enslaved the whole heart

of Pope, and rendered every other feeling, whether of self-interest, or friendship, subservient, we would speak with more pity than ridicule. That any criminal intercourse subsisted between them, as Mr Bowles inquires, (Life, p. cxxviii.), is highly improbable. She appears to have been a woman of a little mind and violent temper, incapable of estimating the honour which was conferred on her by the attachment of Pope, and careless of those feelings, which her caprice and peevishness kept in perpetual irritation. The letters that are now published, are among the most humiliating we have ever read. They present us with the picture of a man of fine genius and exquisite sensibility; and acting, in this instance, without art or affectation, chained at the footstool of two paltry girls. The following is a specimen out of many.

'TO THE MISSES BLOUNT.

'LADIES, *Thursday morn.*

'Pray think me sensible of your civility and good meaning, in asking me to come to you.

'You will please to consider, that my coming, or not, is a thing indifferent to both of you. But God knows it is far otherwise to me, with respect to one of you.

'I scarce ever come, but one of two things happens, which equally afflicts me to the soul: either I make her uneasy, or I see her unkind.

'If she has any tenderness, I can only give her every day trouble and melancholy. If she has none, the daily sight of so undeserved a coldness must wound me to death.

'It is forcing one of us to do a very hard and very unjust thing to the other.

'My continuing to see you will, by turns, teaze all of us. My staying away can at worst be of ill consequence only to myself.

'And if one of us is to be sacrificed, I believe we are all three agreed who shall be the person.' Vol. X. p. 84.

We shall now make a few desultory strictures upon Mr Bowles's notes.

Vol. II. p. 377. 'I am inclined to think, by Roxana was meant the Dutchess of Marlborough; this is my idea; but it is of little consequence to illustrate a poem, which Pope, perhaps, never wrote.' The poem, entitled Roxana, is a flimsy *jeu d'esprit*, quite unlike Pope, and probably written by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. But Mr Bowles's notion, that Roxana was meant for the Dutchess of Marlborough, is marvellously absurd. Was *she* 'a prude,' who, 'in glowing youth, when nature bids be gay,' sought sermons, and, with a mien severe, 'censured her neighbours, and said daily prayer?'

Vol. IV. p. 55. *Can Sporus feel?*—'In the first edition, Pope had the name Paris, instead of Sporus; it seems a more suitable name. There is, I believe, no account why it was altered.' Mr

Bowles has made a similar remark somewhere else; from which we infer, that he does not know who the real Sporus was. Let him turn to Tacitus, or the commentators on Juvenal, and he will find, that such was the name of a minion of Nero, and therefore chosen by Pope as *more suitable* than Paris, because it was more contemptuous and severe.

P. 131. 'Pope, when he spoke with such disrespect of kings, had in his eye the house of Brunswick.'—Not in particular: it was a branch of that idle affectation, which led him to speak contemptuously of all the great, while he was panting for their society; a little heightened by the semi-republican tone which the opponents of Sir Robert Walpole affected. It is quite unfounded, in our opinion, to consider Pope as a jacobite, which is a notion perpetually recurring in Mr Bowles's notes. This, we think, one proof, how little this gentleman knows of the times, or even of the author on whom he comments. We doubt if any of Pope's friends, at least his later friends, were attached to the Stuart family, Atterbury excepted. We cannot help subjoining, on this subject, the following note of Mr Bowles, as an extraordinary evidence of acute and profound thinking.

'It is a singular circumstance, that he was born the very year of the Revolution, and died the year before the last effort was made to reestablish the throne of the Stuarts.'

We have transcribed this note entire, and applaud Mr Bowles for not having diluted its philosophical energy by any explanatory context, which might point out to the vulgar reader in what the singularity consisted. Lest, however, too much wisdom might be lost under a bushel, the same note is repeated in another volume, with scarce any variation.

P. 371. The satire, dated 1740, which was first printed by Warton, and seems to have come originally through the hands of Lord Bolingbroke, is an extraordinary composition. It is a bitter invective against Pope's own friends and party, and may be deemed historically curious, as it shows the suspicions which were entertained of Walpole's principal opponents, some time before they were justified. What Pope intended to make of this poem, is problematical. He could not have let it become public, at least in his lifetime; and yet there seems little pleasure in writing a satire which none is to know but the libeller himself. Nor do we think, that Pope was apt to give his loose unpremeditated lines such strength and animation, as reigns in the following, which may vie perhaps with any of his satirical poetry.

'Carteret, his own proud dupe, thinks monarchs things
Made first for him, as other fools for kings;
Controuls, decides, insults thee every hour,
And antedates the hatred due to power.

Through clouds of passion Pulteney's views are clear,
He foams a patriot to subside a peer;
Impatient sees his country bought and sold,
And damns the market where he takes no gold.
* * * * * * * * *
Britain, the curse is on thee, and who tries
To save thee, in th' infectious office dies.
The first firm Pulteney soon resigned his breath,
Brave Scarborough loved thee, and was doom'd to death.
Good Marchmont's fate tore Polwarth from thy side,
And thy last sigh was heard when Wyndham died.'

A ridiculous idea is thrown out by Mr Bowles, in his Life of Pope (p. cxxiv.), that the concluding lines of this satire allude to the young Pretender! They are obviously meant for Frederic Prince of Wales; but Mr Bowles having taken up the notion that Pope was a staunch Jacobite, is too ignorant of history to correct his own misconceptions. What man of tolerable information could imagine, that, in the year 1740, the young Pretender, who was a mere boy, and obscure even to his own party, could be spoken of as 'the one alone' on whom 'our all relies?'

Vol. V. p. 92. '*Great Cibber's brazen brainless brothers stand.* The comparison of Cibber to the fine figures of Melancholy and Raving Madness, executed by his father, is *disgraceful only to the author.*' Is not this a proof of the *spitefulness* towards Pope which we complained of in Mr Bowles? What can there be disgraceful to the author in this very witty line? and what has the merit of the figures to do with it? *They* are not ridiculed, —unless it is a reproach for brass to want brains.

Vol. VI. p. 172. In Martinus Scriblerus's second voyage, 'he was happily shipwrecked on the land of the Giants, now the most humane people in the world.' On this Mr Bowles inquires, innocently taking the whole of Gulliver for gospel—'Is it not a fact, that the more intimate knowledge we acquire of rude nations, the less cruel they appear?' With a great deal more about humanity and Esquimaux, too dull and trite to transcribe. The whole ends with the following remark, which, for its weight and pithiness, is made to stand as a paragraph by itself.

'Savage nations,' as they are called, are frequently, in this respect, much 'more sinned against, than sinning.'

Vol. VII. Appendix. 'The following account of the family of Mrs Thomas, the mistress of Cromwell, who sold Pope's Letters which were first published, was transcribed by D. P. Olneden Esq., from a manuscript in the leaf of a book in Trinity College, Cambridge. As it is curious, it is presented to the reader in its native simplicity. This account is literally as follows;—of the truth of it I can say nothing; or of the time or person, where and by whom it was written.'

XUM

Upon the 'account' itself, be it curious or not, we can only say, that Mr Olneden's labour was ill employed in transcribing the manuscript he found. We remember to have read it many years ago in the supplemental volume to the Biographical Dictionary. If we mistake not, it is taken from the preface to Mrs Thomas's own works; but, whencesoever it comes, it is as absurd and palpable a romance, as any impostor ever invented. Mr Bowles, we believe, has no right to say that Mrs Thomas was the *mistress* of Cromwell. We have made no secret already of the low opinion we entertain of this gentleman's proficiency in English history. In his note subjoined to Mrs Thomas's tale, he has committed two blunders, which will put the justice of our censure beyond controversy. 1. He says that the Duke of Montagu, therein named, is '*evidently* meant for Montagu Duke of Manchester.' Now, there is hardly any one, who does not know that the dukedom of Manchester was not created till the reign of George I. The Duke of Montagu of King William's time, had been a Mr Montagu, ambassador in France about 1678, and famous for an important breach of trust towards Lord Danby. 2. He conceives that Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham (properly Buckinghamshire), 'had most likely a considerable share in the Revolution;' whereas he was strongly attached all his life to the house of Stuart.

Vol. VIII. p. 101.—'What I looked upon as a rant of Barrow's, I now begin to think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it.

'Hæc quicunque leget, tantum cecinisse putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.'

Atterbury in a Letter to Pope on Milton.

Mr Bowles, always eager to comment, observes—'The rant is not Barrow's, but Marvel's.' What pity that great poets will go out of their way to be wrong! The rant is not Marvel's, but Barrow's;—not indeed the great Isaac Barrow, as perhaps Atterbury thought, but a certain Samuel Barrow, M. D. whose Latin verses are prefixed to almost every edition of Milton.

Vol. IX. p. 469. Mr Bowles is certainly right in supposing that Pope was not the author of the Latin verses quoted in the Guardian, No. 173. Those addressed to Bethell, which Warton seems to have conceived the production of Pope,

'*Te mihi pinxerunt auri sine crimine mores,*' &c.

are in the first book of the epistles of Joannes Secundus. The lines in the Guardian belong probably to some other Dutch poet.

Whatever severity Mr Bowles may sometimes show towards the dead, the living of all classes meet with the very gentlest treat-

ment at his hands. Time would fail us, if we were to recount the eulogies which are showered on the head of Mr Coxe. Elegant, accurate, interesting, able, most judicious, best informed; he shines a whole neck and shoulders higher than common men,—the Magnus Apollo, the historical oracle of Mr Bowles. In truth, we believe that he is entitled to some gratitude; as we much question whether our editor has a notion of history, as to those times, which is not gleaned from Mr Coxe's quartos. But the following compliment to a gentleman, who is, we believe, no author, though a great master of manuscripts, is unparalleled, both for its delicacy, and appositeness. Pope is severe, in one of his letters, upon the clerks of the Post-Office, whom he suspected of prying into his correspondence. Whereon thus saith Mr Bowles—

'Pope and Swift were constantly declaiming against the *gentlemen* of the Post-Office. Whether their observations were true or not, we cannot fail to contrast the liberality of the present conductors, *and particularly of the worthy secretary Mr Freeling!*'—Vol. IX. p. 241.

We can readily credit that Mr Bowles's letters have never been opened at the Post-Office. *Antoni gladios poterit contemnere.*

The tenth volume concludes with observations on the poetical character of Pope, which, coming from the pen of Mr Bowles, are justly entitled to respect. We think highly of some of this gentleman's productions, especially those of an early date; and, untainted as he has appeared by the grosser heresies of our day, it is natural to expect sound criticism as the result of a successful application to his art during full twenty years of authorship. Yet, in this judgment upon the merits of Pope, we conceive Mr Bowles to have failed, and the cause of his failure to be derived from principles of criticism by no means peculiar to himself, but which have obtained too great an influence over the public taste of our age.

'I presume,' he begins, 'it will readily be granted, that *all* images drawn from what is beautiful or sublime in the works of nature, are more beautiful and sublime than *any* images drawn from art; and that they are, therefore, *per se*, more poetical.'

In the very outset we withhold our assent from this maxim, unlimited as it now stands in expression,—which Mr Bowles deems indisputable. Whether the sentiment of beauty results from harmony of form and colour, or from moral associations; whether that of sublimity depends upon terror or upon energy; the works of art, as well as those of nature, are alike capable of exciting them, either in their immediate effects, or by the reflection of poetical imagery. Does Mr Bowles conceive, that an ordinary mountain will raise stronger emotions than the pyramids; or that the verse of De Lille respecting those structures,

'*Leur masse indestructible a fatigué le tems,*'

is less noble than any description whatever of rocks and precipices, which may be found in the numerous class of versifiers who paint poetical landscapes after nature?

Mr Bowles proceeds to observe that, 'in like manner, those passions of the human heart, which belong to nature in general, are, *per se*, more adapted to the higher species of poetry, than those which are derived from incidental and transient manners.' Of this proposition there can be no doubt. From these two axioms he infers, that 'the rule by which we would estimate Pope's general poetical character, would be obvious.' But as he seems hastening to a conclusion, a new rule of judging comes across Mr Bowles's mind, which is likely to render our critical calculation somewhat more complex. 'Let me not be considered,' says he, 'as thinking that the *subject alone* constitutes poetical excellency. The *execution* is to be taken into consideration at the same time; for we might fall asleep over the creation of Blackmore, but be alive to the touches of animation and satire in Boileau.' By execution, he means, 'not only the colours of expression, but the design, the contrast of light and shade, the masterly management, the judicious disposition, and, in short, every thing that gives to a great subject relief, interest, and animation.' The subject and the execution, therefore, we find at last, 'are equally to be considered: the one respecting the poetry; the other, the art and powers of the poet.' And it is, in Mr Bowles's opinion, for want of observing this rule, that so much has been said, and so little understood, of the real ground of Pope's character as a poet. Now, it appears to us, we confess, that Pope's, or any other man's character as a poet, must depend upon 'his art and powers' solely, and in no degree upon the subject he has selected, however judicious or otherwise that choice may be, as to the end of displaying his talents to advantage. We submit to Mr Bowles, whether he has not fallen into a puzzle of ideas, not uncommon, of confounding the pleasure which a poem produces in us, with the degree of genius required for its composition. In estimating the *poems* of Pope, the subject may justly claim some consideration, though we are inclined to believe that to men of cultivated taste, it enters but in a very small proportion to the execution, into the feelings of poetical delight. But Mr Bowles is expressly considering the merits of the *poet;* and these can only be appreciated by examining his reach of thought, powers over the passions, command of expression, and every other *item* which enters into the accounts of Parnassus.

There is, however, one sense, undoubtedly, in which the poetical character of Pope may be said to depend upon his subjects: none can claim credit for greater powers than they display; and

some subjects are less compatible than others with the manifestation of particular talents of execution.

It is this, perhaps, which Mr Bowles means, when he says, the subject is equally to be considered with the execution; it is this, at least, which he ought to mean. 'Pope must be judged,' he continues, 'according to the rank in which he stands among those of the French school, not the Italian; among those whose delineations are taken more from manners than from nature.' This is perfectly intelligible—but is it true? Is there no difference between Pope and Boileau? Does he speak so little to the imagination and the heart? Does he borrow his delineations from manners only, and not from nature? Mr Bowles excepts, indeed, from his position, the Epistle of Eloisa, on which he bestows no more praise than is just, when he says, that 'nothing of the kind has ever been produced equal to it for pathos, painting and melody.' But are there no other parts of his works, in which Pope has reached a high tone of real poetry, according to the strictest notion of the term? Is poetry found in the moral sublime, in the excitement of high and dignified emotion, through the medium of harmonious and forcible numbers? The epistle to Lord Oxford displays this reach of noble sentiment, more uniformly, though not perhaps more conspicuously, than some other passages of his moral writings. Is the sprightliness of a versatile fancy, the play of varied imagery, a distinguishing characteristic of the poet? Where is this more striking, than in the Rape of the Lock,—and, indeed, in many parts of the Dunciad? Is the fervour of passion, the power of exciting and expressing emotion, the soul of poetry? We have already pointed to it in the Eloisa. What then is it that we want? and for what reason does Mr Bowles, like the vain herd of modern versifiers, carp at the poetical merits of Pope? That he is not of the class of Milton and Shakespeare is indisputable; and, notwithstanding the two volumes, in which Dr Warton thought it necessary to prove this truism, we doubt whether any critic, even during the flattery of his own age, ever thought of placing him so high.

The true reason, we suspect, of this perpetual tendency in the present age to depreciate Pope, is an inordinate preference of descriptive poetry. The following extract will prove, we think, the truth of what we assert, so far as Mr Bowles is concerned.

'In what has been said, I have avoided the introduction of picturesque description; that is, accurate representations from external objects of nature: but if the premises laid down in the commencement of these reflections are true, no one can stand preeminent as a great poet, unless he has not only a heart susceptible of the most pa-

thetic or most exalted feelings of nature, but an eye attentive to, and familiar with, every external appearance that she may exhibit, in every change of season, every variation of light and shade, every rock, every tree, every leaf, in her solitary places. He who has not an eye to observe these, and who cannot, with a glance, distinguish every diversity of every hue in her variety of beauties, must so far be deficient in one of the essential qualities of a poet.

'Here Pope, from infirmities, and from physical causes, was particularly deficient. When he left his own laurel circus at Twickenham, he was lifted into his chariot or his barge; and, with weak eyes, and tottering strength, it is physically impossible he could be a descriptive bard. Where description has been introduced among his poems, as far as his observation could go, he excelled; more could not be expected. In the descriptions of the cloister, the scenes surrounding the melancholy convent, as far as could be gained by books, or suggested by imagination, he was eminently successful; but even here, perhaps, he only proved that he could not go far; and

"The streams that shine between the hills,
"The grots that echo to the tinkling rills,"

were possibly transcripts of what he could most easily transcribe,—his own views and scenery.'

It would be perhaps idle to notice the anachronism with which this passage concludes, were it not a proof of that cavilling disposition which we noticed above, and which is perpetually on the scent for some ill-natured remark towards Pope. Mr Bowles knows very well, that Pope was not possessed of 'his own views and scenery,' meaning his house and grotto at Twickenham, till long after the publication of Eloisa's epistle. But we object, as critics, to the spirit of the whole paragraph. That picturesque description is a fruitful source of poetical pleasure, we readily confess: but we deny that it is essential to the poetical character, or that no one can stand preeminent, who has never excelled in it. Images, indeed, drawn from natural objects, are indispensable in poetry, as they are in all animated prose; but accurate and detailed description, which, in some species of poetical composition, is wholly inapplicable, is, in most others, rather valuable than necessary. Does Mr Bowles require, that the eye of the lyric poet, or of the tragedian, should be 'familiar with every variation of light and shade, every tree, and *every leaf?*'—Such petty circumstances of external nature are scorned by him who aims at a nobler quarry, the excitement of powerful emotion, and the delineation, not of trees and leaves, but of the passions and sentiments of the human mind. Even of those, whose subjects may fitly have led them to the introduction of this species of ornament, the painter's eye, which Mr Bowles requires, has been the lot of very few. Poets are said to be '*cupidi silvarum;*' but it has chanced,

we believe, that most of them have lived in courts or cities without much inquiry after any 'external appearances' of nature, beyond those which are tolerably obvious, and which all men recognize pretty equally. A poet feels, and expresses what he feels, more forcibly than an ordinary person: the most common phenomena of the visible world, therefore, strike more in his descriptions, than in reality; they are better selected, better combined, and more richly associated. But if the nice skill of landscape painting, the power of showing 'what the reader wonders he never saw before,' for which Dr Johnson has praised Thomson, be essential to poetry; valuable as, in its judicious exercise, it may be deemed, few indeed are the poets. There is something of this, but not a great deal, in Homer. There is, as we observed on a former occasion, * an eminent degree of picturesque skill in Virgil; it is one of his peculiar excellences; and perhaps he has a claim to rank higher, in this respect, than any ancient or modern poet. But we say this, on account of the good taste with which he has refrained from excessive and particular detail. He falls very short of Mr Bowles's exaggerated requisition; he does not stop 'to distinguish every diversity of every hue in nature's variety of beauties;' his descriptions are beautifully sketched, but the perfect finish must be supplied by the picturesque reader. The Italian poets are equally deficient, according to Mr Bowles's canon; even Spenser, if nicely examined, will not be found to have composed landscapes; and, with the 'weak eyes' of Milton, 'it is physically impossible,' in Mr Bowles's own words, 'that *he* could be a descriptive bard.'

In truth, we are become sick of this deluge of descriptive poetry, which, since the days of Thomson, has swept over the lower regions of Parnassus. It has its charm, and to us a very powerful one: we love the forms of external nature, and are pleased to find them suggested, whether by the painter or poet, in combinations more attractive than themselves generally present. But it readily degenerates into a very low style of poetry; a monotonous enumeration of rocks and rivers, birds and beasts, variegated only with the still more dreary embellishment of sickly and sombre sentiment. Will those, who are conversant with modern poetry, accuse us of injustice? It is the price which we pay for Thomson and Cowper; their successes, and the extreme easiness of descriptive poetry, have raised up a lamentable school, which we regret to think the public taste has too much encouraged. Indeed we owe some grudge to the two Wartons for their exceeding love of mere description,—though no one will impute to them

* No. XIII. p. 141.

too great knowledge of nature, in any sense of the word. Minute description, however, independently of its tendency to become heavy and tedious, seems to labour under one inevitable fault; it is too technical; it is hardly understood, but by those who have watched the slight and evanescent differences of visible things, with more attention than is usually given by the studious or the busy. Unless where a fondness for painting, or habits of much seclusion, have accustomed the mind to sift and discriminate the sensations of the eye, it is not, we think, very common for men to look on nature in detail. Her striking features arrest the most careless; but a thousand varieties of shade and colour play over her countenance, without being heeded before they pass away, or remembered when they return.

We have thought this much necessary to vindicate what we deem the cause of poets and poetry, from a narrow and exclusive system. We will not permit the bards of former days to be thus arraigned before a jury of tourists and draughtsmen, for the want of excellences of which their own contemporaries had never dreamed. But lest, in defending the poetical character of Pope against false principles of criticism, we should inadvertently have appeared to raise it too high, let it be understood, that we do not believe him possessed of that diviner spirit, that energy and enthusiasm, which are required for the epic, the tragic, or the lyric muse. Not choice only, but nature, prescribed a different range; and, within his own sphere, there are surely very few who could be placed over his head; much less could any critic of taste and candour refuse the name of poet to one so highly gifted by nature, and so improved by skill. May we be permitted to suggest what we, perhaps singularly, deem a striking deficiency in the poetical faculties of Pope? He seems to have never acquired that facility of conception, or that ready use of his own instrument, versification, which long habit has given to other poets. His hasty lines, whenever they have come to light, seem almost always feeble and ill expressed. There cannot be a stronger proof than an epigram which Mr Bowles has printed, (Vol. IV. p. 32.) It is surprising, that a man like Pope, who 'lisped in numbers,' could have suffered such wretched lines to escape him, even if he never intended them to be public. His frequent infelicity of diction, from its harshness, its obscurity, its hardness, or its grammatical inaccuracy, seems to have proceeded from the same cause. Poetry was his daily labour; but the task does not seem to have grown lighter by use. There is, perhaps, more ease in his early productions, than in those of his maturer life; and most of all in his Homer. We know, however, that even his translation was re-

touched in almost every line; and the manuscript exists in the British Museum, which contains his interlineations.

We have certainly been disappointed in Mr Bowles's edition of Pope, which exhibits neither the industry of a commentator, nor the elegance of a poetical critic. There may be a few good remarks, but we sincerely think they are very few: if we were to select one for praise, it should be his general criticism on the Rape of the Lock. Upon the whole, we recommend to this gentleman to abstain from prose, and to think rhyme quite as indispensable to his appearance in public, as a bag and sword are at court.

ART. X. *The Works of Sallust: to which are prefixed, two Essays on the Life, Literary Character and Writings of the Historian; with Notes, Historical, Biographical and Critical.* By HENRY STEUART LL. D., Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1300. C. & R. Baldwin, London, 1806.

THE most remarkable thing about this book is its enormous bulk: and those who, like us, have been accustomed to peruse the noble historian in an edition about the size of a hand at whist, will easily conceive with what amazement we contemplated the magnificent amplitude of the work before us. In examining its contents, we cannot say that this amazement has settled into admiration; although we still wonder a little at some of Dr Steuart's literary qualifications, besides his gift of amplification.

'It is singular,' observes this learned person in his preface, 'that (in England) with a numerous body of clergy, whose leisure is liberally patronized by the nation, and who pique themselves on classical acquirements, there should still remain a single antient writer inaccessible to those who cultivate only the language of their native country. It is an extraordinary circumstance, however discreditable to English learning, that, with translations of the antient poets, beyond question the finest existing, we should still be outstripped in our versions of the prose authors of Greece and Rome, by the greater part of our European neighbours, who have any pretensions to taste or literature.'

Now in this we see little to be wondered at. It is no doubt true, that, before we can have translations of the classics, we must have men capable of translating them; but it is equally obvious, that the more men of this sort we have, there will be the less occasion for their services: and the fact is, that not only the clergy, but almost all who take any interest in classical subjects, are, in this country, capable of studying them in the original authors. Where classical instruction is less generally diffused, translations

are more likely to be common; so that, taking all the facts together, we are very far from considering their scarcity among us as any thing like an imputation upon our scholarship.

With poetry, indeed, the case is somewhat different. There is in this, as well as in other nations, a considerable class of male and female readers, who amuse themselves with translations of the poets of Greece and Rome; whilst they entertain for their historians, and indeed for their prose writers in general, the most profound and tranquil indifference. The reason of this, too, is sufficiently obvious. The beauties of poetical composition are, in their own nature, more striking, and far more discernible to the generality of readers, than the more retired graces of history. Hence numbers, who are capable of appreciating strength of sentiment, or suavity of language, yet find in history nothing worthy of attention but the facts which it records. For these, however, an English reader is under no necessity of applying to translations of particular authors. In the common histories of Greece and Rome, by his own countrymen, he pursues the thread of the narrative, spared at once that tediousness of partial repetition, which he must have frequently encountered in taking up successive authors, and uninterrupted by those lamentable chasms, which have been made by the hand of time in so many of the antient historians. Accordingly we shall find, that, for one person who has read in Murphy the death of Germanicus, or the victories of Agricola, there are at least fifty who are familiar with the woes of Andromache in Pope, and the fatal passion of Dido in Pitt or Dryden.

Upon the whole, though we should be most happy to cooperate with Dr Steuart in his laudable endeavours to avert in this country any decline in classical learning (Pref. p. 38.), we really cannot say that we expect this object to be much promoted by multiplying translations.

The translation itself, which fills about one fifth part of the huge volumes before us, is insulated by vast masses of dissertation and annotation; through some part of which it is necessary for us to work our way before we can get at the main body.

In the composition of antient biography, we are told (Vol. I. p. 4.), 'the want of incident is severely felt;' a most veritable and innocent proposition, with which we should be the last people in the world to quarrel, if Dr Steuart had not attempted to make it stand as an excuse for so many hundred pages of triteness and insipidity. Now, we really cannot allow it to pass in this light, till we are further instructed in the obligation which he lay under to publish two vast quarto volumes; nor are we exactly of opinion, that all 'the candid are called on to be pleased

with unimportant details and trifling anecdotes.' (Vol. I. p. 3.) This description is certainly not very attractive; but we must allow it the merit of accuracy as well as of modesty. The reader must be enabled to judge for himself.

The anecdote (we are informed, Vol. I. p. 324.) 'concerning Mummius's notion of the productions in painting and statuary by the ablest masters, is well known.' Dr Steuart does not however on this account forbear to recite it; but gives it at full length, first in English, and then in Latin. Again (Vol. I. p. 343.), lest the reader should not have learnt from his Lempriere's dictionary (a book from which, if we are not mistaken, Dr Steuart has learnt a great deal), that 'Thucydides reckoned amongst his ancestors the great Miltiades; that he shed tears when he heard Herodotus repeat his history at the public festivals of Greece; that, during the Peloponnesian war, he was commissioned by his countrymen to relieve Amphipolis; that the quick march of Brusidas, the Lacedæmonian general, defeated his operations, and that Thycydides, unsuccessful in his expedition, was banished from Athens; that he wrote in the Attic dialect, as possessed of more vigour, purity, elegance and energy; and, finally, that his history has been divided into eight books, the last of which is imperfect, and supposed to have been written by his daughter'—(Lempriere's Dict. *voc.* Thucydides);—lest, we say, the reader should chance to be unacquainted with all this, he has, in the volumes before us, an opportunity of informing himself of it in almost the same words.

'Thucydides was born at Athens, about 475 years A. C. He was both a scholar and a soldier, and a descendant of the great Miltiades. His noble emulation, when a boy, is well known, which prompted him to shed tears, at witnessing the honours bestowed, at the Olympic games, upon Herodotus. (See Suid. *voc.* Thucydid.) During the 8th year of the Peloponnesian war, being sent with a body of troops to relieve Amphipolis, he failed in the attempt, through the quick march of Brusidas, the general of the Lacedæmonians; whereupon he was banished from Athens by the faction of Cleon. (See his own history, Lib. IV. p. 321.) During his exile in Thrace, Thucydides composed an account of the twenty-one first years of this war. (Plutarch. in Cim. de exilio, 19.) That of the six remaining years was afterwards added, by Xenophon and Theopompus. Thucydides wrote in the Attic dialect, as being eminent, above all others, for vigour, purity and elegance; hence compression and energy are the great characteristics of his style. This celebrated work is divided into eight books, of which the last is imperfect, and supposed to have been written by the daughter of the historian.' (Vol. I. p. 343.)

In the 4th section of the first epistle to Cæsar (Vol. I. p. 453.), our learned Doctor has the good fortune to mistake a tolerably plain passage; and this happily presents him with an occasion

for more than six pages of superfluous note. (Vol. I. p. 493, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 500.) In another place, (Vol. II. p. 113.), we are treated with the rape of Lucretia, and the expulsion of the Tarquins. But perhaps it is not surprising that Dr Steuart should imagine his readers might wish for information relative to this last transaction, he himself (as we shall afterwards attempt to prove) being but very ill informed on the subject. Again, as Cicero's Orations are not in every body's hands, we have one long quotation in Vol. II. p. 191, and a still longer in Vol. II. p. 279, in Latin and English. In the same way, if our readers should wish to peruse the 30th page of Adam's Roman Antiquities (about Patrons and Clients), in a larger type, and on better paper, than that less assuming volume can boast of, they may have that satisfaction, by turning to the 232d page of the work now before us.

In his account of the Sibylline books (Vol. II. p. 241, 42, 43), our author is again kind enough to accommodate the homely antiquary in his splendid pages. On this occasion, however, it is to be regretted, that he did not copy what was before him a little more accurately; as we much doubt, notwithstanding the mention of the edition (viz. Reisk), his finding any part of the contents of this note in Dionys. Hal. L. 6. 62:—our edition certainly has it L. 4. 62. On the subject of sieges, Dr Adam is again transcribed by the learned translator, (Vol. II. p. 573, 74, 75, 76.) We will conclude these proofs of Dr Steuart's diligence and originality, by observing that we have met with one story (namely, what Cicero thought of Brutus's commendation of him) *three times over* in Latin, and twice with an English translation prefixed: the story, indeed, is not a long one. Vol. I. 375.—Vol. II. 236, 276.)

Having thus given our readers a few examples in the art of collecting materials for quarto volumes, we shall proceed to examine how far the triteness of this heavy compilation is atoned for by its accuracy. For the information of some of our readers, it may be necessary to premise, that at Rome, under the emperors, 'there prevailed a practice, in the schools of declamation, of assuming some real character, and then giving or addressing to it a fictitious oration.' (Vol. I. p. 86.) There are extant two pieces of this description, composed as invectives of Sallust and Cicero against each other, some time in the latter end of the reign of Augustus. From these, it seems, many of the biographers of the historian have selected anecdotes for his life, most of them, as may be supposed, not highly favourable to his moral character. Amongst others, this has been done by 'M. Meisner, Professor in the university of Prague, and one of the most learned men, as well as politest scholars, in Germany.' (Vol. I. p. 120.) And he defends

his conduct on the following grounds:—that, though these orations are fictitious, still the circumstances, which are related in them, may be true; inasmuch as the authors of such compositions would be guided by reports current at the time in which they wrote. With this opinion, Dr Steuart makes himself very merry. After reading, however, all that he says on the subject, we profess that we cannot see the absurdity of it: nor do we think that Dr Steuart has any very good right to undervalue either Professor Meisner, or ourselves, for our dulness in this particular; as he himself, not long afterwards, seems to have come round to the same opinion, and refers to this very invective of Cicero against the historian, as authority for two facts which he inserts in his text; the first, that in the year of Rome 704, Sallust joined Cæsar's army in Gaul (Vol. I. p. 48, 177.); the other (what, by the by, we think extremely improbable), that Cæsar, when dictator, received from him a sum of money to stop the prosecution brought against him by the Africans for extortion in the capacity of their governor. (Vol. I. p. 59, 195.)

In the copious extracts from Cicero's Orations, before objected to, we have a proof, that at least some of those productions are familiar to Dr Steuart; but this can hardly have been the case with regard to the oration for Milo; or surely we should not meet with the following mistatement.

'His friend Brutus had advised him to rest the merits of Milo's defence on the service that he had rendered to the community, by ridding it of a pernicious citizen. The sentiment was consistent with the warm and animated temper of Brutus; who, though he did not speak in the cause, amused himself with writing an exculpatory pleading upon that principle. He afterwards published the piece; and it existed in the days of Quintilian. Cicero's better judgment, however, rejected the idea. He frankly declared to Brutus, that such an argument could not be maintained, on any grounds of law or equity: for, how salutary soever it might be to point, against the flagitious, the censure of mankind, yet it did not from thence follow, that they could be put to death, without the semblance of justice, or the forms of trial.' (I. p. 166.)

Now, if the reader will take the trouble to turn to the oration in question, and to the part of it which begins—'Nec vero me judices, Clodianum crimen movet'—(Orat. pro T. A. Mil. § 27. edit. Schrivel.), and to read that and the four following sections, he will find that they are totally occupied with stating and enforcing that very argument which, Dr Steuart here assures us, 'Cicero's better judgment rejected!'

In the following passage, we think Dr Middleton is improperly corrected.

'There is another opinion, in regard to the chronology of Sallust's

writings, adopted by Dr Middleton, in his life of Cicero, which, on account of the respectability of the quarter from whence it proceeds, certainly lays claim to notice in this place. "Sallust, he alleges, was so extremely sparing in his praise of Cicero; first, on account of the personal enmity which, according to tradition, subsisted between them; and, secondly, on account of the time of publishing his history in the reign of Augustus, while the name of Cicero was still obnoxious to envy." This opinion as an hypothesis of Dr Middleton's, it were easy to refute, on more than one of the grounds on which I have controverted that of Le Clerc. But this becomes wholly unnecessary, from the consideration, that it was impossible for Sallust to have published his Catiline "during the reign of Augustus," as he himself died A. U. C. 718, no less than four years previous to its commencement—*that is, previous to the battle of Actium.*' I. p. 249.

This appears to us little better than quibbling. We do not mean to say, that the fear of giving offence to the ruling party, was in fact the chief, or even a partial, inducement with Sallust to refrain from bestowing on Cicero his due share of praise: but, certainly, the historian was not less likely to be actuated by such a motive during the joint reign of Augustus and M. Antony, who was the orator's bitterest enemy, and whilst the memory of Cicero's assassination was yet fresh in every one's mind, than he was afterwards, when Augustus was sole emperor. The mention of the battle of Actium, therefore, seems wholly irrelevant to the point in question.

We come now a little nearer to the translation. Dr Steuart tells us (Vol. I. p. 285.), that 'it has been already observed, in this Essay, and will be admitted by every impartial scholar, that the writings of our author are intelligible throughout, and infinitely more so than those of either Livy or Tacitus; insomuch that he may be accounted the most perspicuous of the Roman historians.' Whether this be so or not, we certainly will not presume to determine; but that he is not always intelligible to Dr Steuart, appears to us to be manifest from a variety of his interpretations. We shall lay a few of them before the reader for his consideration.

In the following sentence from the Jugurthine War, (§34, Var. edit. 8vo.—Vol. I. p. 431.) 'Ac, tametsi multitudo, qua in concione, aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, *quæ* ira fieri *amat*; vicit tamen impudentia'—he plainly conceives, that the plural *quæ* is the nominative to the singular *amat*. His reasons for this opinion, of which we confess we do not see the force, are, that in Thucydides verbs singular agree with nouns of number; and in Horace and Cicero with (as might have been guessed) singular nominatives!

We come now to that passage in the first Epistle to Cæsar,

which, we have already said, Dr Steuart appears to have mistaken. It is as follows. 'At herculè nunc cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis, quadraginta senatores, multi præterea cum spe bonâ adolescentes, sicuti hostiæ, mactati sunt: cum interea opportunissima genera hominum tot miserorum civium sanguine satiari nequiverunt: non orbi liberi, non parentes exactâ ætate, non gemitus virorum, luctus mulierum immanem eorum animum inflexit: quin, acerbius in dies male faciendo ac dicundo, dignitate alios, alios civitate eversum irent.' (Epist. ad Cæs. 2. edit. Var. 8vo. 1659.) Cook translates it thus. 'But now, when by Cato, L. Domitius, and the rest of the same faction, forty senators, with many young men of excellent hope, were sacrificed like victims; when, meantime, this most outrageous set of men could not be satiated with the blood of so many miserable citizens: not orphans, not parents of decrepid age, not the groans of men, or the wailings of women, could prevail upon their cruel dispositions, but still they went on with greater sharpness every day in evil works and words, to deprive some of dignity, others of their country.' In this sense we ourselves have always understood the passage—nor does any difficulty strike us, which might lead us to hesitate in our opinion. Sallust was of Cæsar's party; and, addressing to him this epistle, he naturally inveighs against the sanguinary proceedings of Cato, L. Domitius, and others of that faction. In another part of the same epistle, speaking in terms of censure of the same set of men, he again mentions by name the same two individuals. 'An L. Domitii magna vis est, cujus nullum membrum à flagitio aut facinore vacat? lingua vana, manus cruentæ, pedes fugaces; que honestè nominari nequeant inhonestissuma. Unius tamen M. Catonis ingenium versutum, loquax, callidum haud contemno. Parantur hæc disciplina Græcorum. Sed virtus, vigilantia, labos, apud Græcos nulla sunt.' (Epist. ad Cæs. edit. Var. 8vo. 2. p. 525.)

To us, all this appears very clear: and to all the commentators on Sallust, one only excepted, it was probably equally clear, since they have observed, as Dr Steuart informs us, an entire silence in regard to the passage.

'The Abbé Thyvon, (the one editor above alluded to), instead of the above unintelligible reading, substitutes the following—"At herculè, *hinc* cum *Carbone*, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis," &c.; because *hinc* may be easily supposed to have been mistaken for *nunc*, and particularly *Carbone* for *Catone*, by the copyists, as the latter name was so much better known to them. From this improved state of the text, the present translation is made. But it surpasses my comprehension, on what principles of Latin syntax, not only the President De Brosses, but likewise Mr Rowe and Mr Cooke (both cer-

tainly scholars) should have so rendered the words, as to make *cum* an adverb, instead of a preposition, and Cato (or Carbo) and Domitius, the *perpetrators* of the massacre.' (Vol. I. p. 494.)

We shall not here dwell on the inaccuracy of stating, 'that Mr Cooke makes *cum* an adverb,' whereas he in reality makes it a conjunction; but proceed to express our counter-astonishment, how Dr Steuart could imagine *cum* to be a preposition; and further to inquire, how, in this mode of interpretation, he disposes of the second *cum* (*i. e.* the *cum interea*). These two conjunctions govern the verbs *mactati sunt* and *nequiverunt*, thus making *inflexit* the principal verb in the sentence. We give Dr Steuart's translation.

'But, under the domination of his adherents, what deplorable excesses have we not seen committed! Not only Carbo and Domitius, and other persons of like principles, but forty Senators have also been cut off, together with the flower of our youth, all victims to their fury. Meanwhile, did the civil blood, which they thus made to flow, suffice to appease them? Deaf alike to the cries of the orphan, the tears of the widow, the entreaties of youth, and the groans of age, they maintained their course of unbridled violence. They grew daily fiercer with insolence and brutality; and, whomsoever they regarded as hostile to their views, they degraded from his rank, or else expelled from his country.' (Vol. I. p. 548.)

Another argument against the reading proposed by the Abbé and Dr Steuart, is this, that if Sallust had been speaking of Cæsar's and his own friends, instead of their enemies, he would never have used the word *factionis*. A neutral historian, indeed, might have called both parties *factiones*; but a partisan would not have termed his own side *factionem*. It is further curious, that after all this trouble to depart from the plain track, Dr Steuart, when he makes Domitius the slain, instead of the slayer, is obliged, in order at all to reconcile the fact with history, to change his name, and to contend, without the least authority, that Lucius is a corrupted reading for Cnæus. Indeed, the only plausible argument brought forward by him in defence of this reading is, what we cannot allow much weight to, that Sallust, in his *second* epistle to Cæsar, mentions, that the opposite party did, on some occasion, put to death *Carbo* and Cnæus Domitius. Now, according to Dr Steuart himself, there were, at this period, not fewer than *five* Domitii. 'An illa, quæ paullo ante hoc bellum in Cn. Pompeium victoriamque Syllanam increpabantur, oblivio abstulit? interfecit Domitium, Carbonem, Brutum, alios item non armatos, neque in prælio belli jure, sed postea supplices per summum scelus interfectos.' Epist. ad Cæs. I. (Vol. I. 473, 493, 537.)

In Cato's answer to Cæsar, in the debate on the sentence to be

passed on the accomplices of Catiline, we conceive the following passage to be quite misrepresented in the translation. 'Ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet, ne, si Romæ sint, aut à popularibus conjurationis, aut à multitudine conductâ, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali, atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit.' (*Bell. Cat. 52. var. edit. 8vo.*) Dr Steuart renders this as follows.

'He has moved that their fortunes be confiscated, and themselves thrown into prison, charging with their confinement, the great municipal towns of Italy. Without doubt he prudently foresaw, that in Rome, at any moment, they might be rescued by force, either by their confederates, or by a mob hired for the purpose. But I would demand of Cæsar, by what right the city of Rome shall thus monopolize the whole vice of Italy, and the municipal towns be denied their share? If their pretensions be admitted, is it not also true, that vice must be more formidable, in proportion as it is removed from the eye of government, where there is less vigilance to detect it, and less energy to check it? The proposition of Cæsar, therefore, is clearly nugatory, if the plot or the conspirators be really dreaded by him.' II. 75.

Here, the specific position as to the comparative probability of the prisoners being rescued by profligate persons in Rome, or the municipal towns, seems turned into an assertion concerning vice in general: and the word *illis*, which evidently refers to the *mali* and *scelesti* who were to rescue the prisoners, is made to stand for the conspirators themselves!

In the Jugurthine war, just after the death of Micipsa, we meet with a passage, in the interpretation of which we must again differ from Dr Steuart. The original is—'Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, naturâ ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextera Adherbalem adsedit: ne medius ex tribus, quod et apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus à fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est.' (*Bell. Jugurth. c.* 11.) Englished, we think unintelligibly, thus—

'He thrust himself down by his brother, thereby occupying the right hand of the prince, and excluding Jugurtha from the place of honour, *which is accounted, likewise, the midst of three, in Numidia.* After much importunity from Adherbal, he was with difficulty persuaded to remove, and to give place to superior years.' II. 586. 522.

We take the meaning to be very plainly this. Hiempsal wished to exclude Jugurtha from the middle seat, which, amongst the Numidians, (*et*), as well as at Rome, was accounted the seat of honour: at last, however, he gave it up to him, on the in-

XUM

terference of Adherbal. In the sentence which immediately follows, we cannot clearly determine, whether Dr Steuart has exactly reversed the meaning of his author, or only expresses himself unintelligibly. (Vol. II. p. 398.) 'And he had, moreover, secured them against an unequal contest with an enemy superior in numbers, as in discipline.' The original is—'Quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa: locum superiorem; uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent.' (*Bell. Jugurth.* 49.) There can be no doubt of the right sense of this passage, viz. that Jugurtha had taken care, that his forces should be equal in number, and in discipline, to the Romans. Whether Dr Steuart's translation carries this, or the contrary meaning, it appears difficult to determine. But, to do our author justice as a translator of Sallust, it is not in his translated matter, that we meet with his most numerous or most glaring errors. It is to his unhappy propensity to dissertation he is indebted for the most serious of his misfortunes. Of these, we must add a few more specimens.

In the extract from Cicero's epistles (I. 517), we do not imagine that the orator means to sneer at Bibulus; and consequently are of opinion, that the words, 'Quòd, in pares copias ad confligendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti consilio M. Bibuli; qui se oppido munitissimo et copiosissimo tamdiu tenuit, quamdiu in provinciâ Parthi fuerunt—(Epist. ad Fam. l. 12. 19), are improperly translated. 'But should, &c. I trust at least you will not forget the *valorous* example of Marcus Bibulus, who, on the first approach of the same terrible people, retreated, *with great presence of mind*, to Antioch, one of his most *comfortable* and best fortified towns, and there closely shut himself up, till they had quitted the country.' Of the words which immediately follow, however, Dr Steuart has indubitably mistaken the sense. 'Sed hæc melius ex re, et ex tempore constitues;' which he renders, 'This, however, I mention only in case of need, and that you have no better expedient to suit the emergency!' The sentiment, 'Facile imperium est in bonos,' Dr Steuart thinks 'not greatly dissimilar' to 'regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.' (Vol. I. p. 528.) To our comprehension, these sentences carry meanings precisely contrary to each other. Again (Vol. I. p. 532), 'Nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter,' is translated, 'Our friend Pompey has nothing in him that savours of either ability or courage.' But if we turn to the epistle (Ep. ad Att. l. 8. 3), from which these words are taken, we shall find nothing to warrant this general attack on the character of Pompey. The real meaning is, that, *on a particular occasion*, his measures were defici-

ent in wisdom and activity. We are improperly referred (Vol. II. p. 186.), for a passage, to Tacitus's *history:* it should be to his *annals*, l. 4. 33. We think '*falcarios*' (Vol. II. 190, 191.) should not be rendered *ironmongers*, but cut-throats, assassins; that is, Catiline's profligate associates.

In the translation of the following sentence from *Cicero de Oratore*, 'Sed tamen ita solet narrare Scævola, conchas eos, et umbilicos, ad Cajetam, et ad Laurentum, legere consuesse, et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere' (l. 2. 6.), we are at a loss for the Latin words of 'delighted with throwing them on the smooth surface of the waters.' (Vol. I. p. 519.)

We have consulted all the passages referred to (Vol. II. p. 531), on the subject of King Solomon's fleets; but in none of them do we find it made out to our satisfaction, that one of the voyages accomplished by this navy was to the coast of Guinea; nor are we less sceptical on this point, after the perusal of the following argument. 'For although gold made a part of each return, yet some of the articles composing the cargoes, such as ivory, apes, and peacocks, were certainly not imported on both occasions.' (p. 531.) We shall afflict the patience of our readers with the investigation of only two more of Dr Steuart's mistakes.

With the usual partiality of editors, he thinks fit to depreciate the merits of Livy, in order to exalt those of his own author. We do not, however, look on this circumstance as a very decided proof of bad literary taste, as we think it likely that Dr Steuart might admire this historian more, if he was better acquainted with him. In the following pleasant tale, any deficiency of knowledge is amply atoned for by ingenuity.

'Among the declaimers at Rome, in the time of Augustus, Livy, in a letter, as it is supposed, addressed to his son, celebrates one teacher in particular, who used to recommend to his scholars to *disguise* or *darken* their meaning as much as possible (σκοτιζε was the Greek word he used to express his idea); thus intending that they should obtain the highest possible excellence of style. On one of his scholars, accordingly, who had been successful at his exercise beyond the rest, he bestowed this incomparable eulogium. 'Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi!'—"Most excellent!" says the master; "so very good, that I am even unable to understand it myself." Vol. I. 399.

Whether Dr Steuart dreamed this, invented it waking, or from whence he got it, we are utterly at a loss to divine. He cites, indeed, a passage from Quintilian, which contains a part of the story, but nothing, certainly, which connects it with the style of Livy. We subjoin it; but we imagine the reader will not find in it one syllable of Livy's *celebrating* this delightful teacher, or concerning a letter to his son: indeed, from the five first words of the sentence, we should rather be led to conclude,

that Livy was censuring the practice which he recorded.—'Neque id novum vitium est; cum jam apud Titum Livium inveniam fuisse præceptorem aliquem, qui discipulos obscurare, quæ dicerent, juberet, Græco verbo utens, σκοτισον. Unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio, *tanto melior:* ne ego quidem intellexi' (Quint. de Inst. Orat. l. 8. 2.) The three following passages of this same historian are, in Dr Steuart's opinion, uncommonly dark and unintelligible; and a learned and ingenious friend of his (vol. I. 400.) could not explain them in less than several closely written quarto pages. 'Injurias, et non redditas res ex fœdere, quæ repetitæ sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilium, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor: nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ te ferre.' (lib. I. 23.) 'In hâc tantarum expectatione rerum, sollicitâ civitate, dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta; sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniâ essent (id quoque enim traditur) parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat.' (lib. II. c. 18.) Dr Steuart should not here have omitted to state, that in the Bodleian manuscript of the first Decad of Livy, the words from *quia* to *nec quis*, which assuredly contain the only difficulty, are not found: but even if we retain them, we have nothing more than one sentence within another, not at all harder to be explained than the '*multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus*' of Sallust, which, on another occasion, Dr Steuart is at no loss to understand (Vol. I. 289.), and which he will not suffer honest Roger Ascham to stumble at.

'But one of the most extraordinary passages in all Livy is (Vol. I. p. 400.), where the historian says, 'Augebatur ferox Tullia, nihil materiæ in viro neque ad cupiditatem, neque ad audaciam esse,' (l. 1. 46.); and then adds of her, 'spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia.' (*Ibid.*)

This really appears to us infinitely ridiculous. We remember construing these passages, and perfectly comprehending them, at least a year before we left school. Nor can we believe, that any moderate scholar can fix his eye on them for five minutes, without most satisfactorily apprehending the meaning of the historian. But Dr Steuart has not yet done with Livy; nor have we quite done with Dr Steuart on the same subject.

'The great peculiarity,' he tells us, (Vol. I. p. 397.) 'in the ſtyle of Livy ſeems to be this, that whilſt his narrative is graceful and flowing, far more ſo, indeed, than that of either Salluſt or Thucydides, he deviates into an abrupt and affected manner in the ſpeeches, of which the very reverſe was rather to have been expected. Take, for example, the ſpeech of Junius Brutus in an aſſembly of the people after the fall of Tarquin, when he endeavours to *perſuade the dethroned prince to go into exile*, (l. 2. c. 2.); the ſpeech of Mucius Scævola to Porſenna the Etruſ-

can king, l. 2. c. 2. (it should be c. 12.); the speeches against the decemvirs, l. 3. c. 52. &c. They are by far too *long* to be quoted in this place.

After the specimens we have already seen of Dr Steuart's moderation as to the length of his quotations, we should not have suspected him of delicacy on this head: we are therefore half inclined to suspect, that he may not very lately have seen the speeches referred to; as, when taken all together, they do not amount to much more than fifty lines in an octavo page. But if, by this insinuation, we slander his character as a scholar, he can doubtless set himself fair again with the world by pointing out 'the speech of Junius Brutus, in an assembly of the people, after the fall of Tarquin, when he endeavours to persuade the dethroned prince to go into exile!' Our Journal is liable to fall into the hands of mere English readers, or we would not insult those of another description by informing them, that by this nonsense, Dr Steuart evidently demonstrates his utter ignorance of the latter part of the first, and the former part of the second book of Livy. The Romans rose against the regal government, whilst Tarquin was absent from Rome at the siege of Ardea; nor was he ever afterwards admitted within the gates. Consequently, he never could have been in an assembly of the people; and, had he contrived to get amongst them, they most likely would have torn him to pieces. Neither, after the first rising of the people, did Brutus ever come to a personal conference with the dethroned prince. The speech which is the subject of this lamentable blunder, is made by Brutus to Collatinus, his colleague in the consulship; of whom, as allied to the blood-royal, the people, though probably with little cause, entertained a jealousy, which compelled him to quit not only his office, but his country.

Thus much for Dr Steuart's pretensions as a critic upon Livy. Let us now see how far he atones for this ignorance of so celebrated a Latin classic, by a more accurate acquaintance with a Greek historian. In Vol. II. p. 591, we have the following quotation from Herodotus.

"Except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the "whole of Africa is surrounded by the sea. The first person who "proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho, king of "Egypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join, by a ca-"nal, the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, he despatched some vessels, "under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions *to pass by the co-"lumns of Hercules, and, after penetrating the northern ocean, to return "to Egypt.* These Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red "Sea, entered the Southern ocean. On the approach of autumn, "they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where "they happened to find themselves: when this was ripe, and they

" had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two " years, they, in the third, passed the columns of Hercules, and re- " turned to Egypt. " (Beloe's Translation, Vol. II. p. 215—217.)

With this Mr Beloe we have fortunately no immediate concern. It is the forfeiture of Dr Steuart's claims as a Greek scholar, in adopting this piece of choice translation, which we have to lament. Now, the only meaning which the exceptionable part of this version bears, is this:—that Necho ordered the Phœnicians to pass the columns of Hercules, and, after penetrating the Northern (which might with more propriety be termed the Western or Atlantic) ocean, to sail southward down the western side of Africa, till they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and thus to return by the eastern side. Now, it is certainly rather remarkable, that the Phœnicians, in receiving these orders from an absolute monarch, whose nod would probably have been a sufficient signal for taking their heads off, should immediately set out in their voyage *precisely the contrary way;* namely sailing first southwards down the eastern coast of Africa, and then returning northwards by the western, till they came to the columns of Hercules, which they passed, and finished their course to Egypt by the Mediterranean. It remains to be inquired, if this rash and pervicacious conduct of these Phœnicians, appears in the original Greek. It runs thus;—

" Λιβυη μεν γαρ δηλοῖ ἑουτην, ἐυσα περιρυτος, πλην ὁσον αυτης προς την Ασιην ἠριζει· Νικω τε Αιγυπτιων βασιλευς πρωτος, των ἡμεις ἰδμεν, κατα δεξαντες· ὁς επει τε την διωρυχα ἐπαυσατο ὀρυσσων, την ες τε Νειλον διεκαυσαν ες τον Αραβιον κολπον, απεπεμψε Φοινικας ανδρας πλοισι, ἐντειλαμενος ες το ὀπισω δι' Ἡρακλειων στηλεων ἐκπλεειν ἑως ες την Βορηιην θαλασσαν, και ὑτω ες Αιγυπτον απικνεισθαι. ὁρμηθεντες ων οι Φοινικες, ἐκτης Ἐρυθρης καλεομενης θαλασσης, ἐπλεον την Νοτιην θαλασσαν. ὁπως δε γινοιτο Φθινοπωρον, προσκοπτες αν σπειρεσκον την γην, ἱνα ἑκαστοτε της Λιβυης πλεοντες γινοιατο, και μεινασκον τον ἀμητον· θερισαντες δ' αν τον σιτον ἐπλεον. ὡστε δυο ετεων διεξελθοντων, τριτω ἐτει καμψαντες Ἡρακλειας στηλας, ἀπικοντο ες Αιγυπτον." (Herod. Melpom. 42. Sat.)

The literal English of the words which cause the blunder, is this:—He (viz. Necho) sent away some Phœnicians (of course, from the place where, in the words immediately preceding, he is stated to have been, *i. e.* from the Arabian Gulph), ordering them to make their homeward voyage, or, in their return home, to sail (ες το οπισω εκπλειν) through the columns of Hercules, till they got into the Northern sea, that is, the Mediterranean, which bounds *Egypt* on the north, and thus to return to that country.

Though there are some passages of the translation expressed with neatness and animation, we cannot help saying, that Dr Steuart's general style is very far from attractive. Sometimes it is rendered ridiculous by a sort of counterfeit grandeur; at others, it is extremely deficient in perspicuity; whilst its general diffus-

iveness is but ill adapted to convey to an English reader an idea of that nervous brevity, which is the peculiar characteristic of his original author. We shall give a few examples. The pompous verbosity of the following passage is quite ludicrous.

'A few days after the debarkation of the troops, intelligence being brought that a valuable magazine of corn and other stores had been formed at Corcina, then in the hands of the enemy, Sallust was despatched with a detachment of the fleet, and peremptory orders to make himself master of the island. "As to the possibility of the attempt," said Cæsar to his lieutenant in giving him his instructions, "it is needless to deliberate: our circumstances are such as admit of no room for delay, and no excuse for disappointment." The vigorous character of Sallust was not calculated to disappoint the confidence thus reposed in him; and he executed the service with equal celerity and success.' (Essay I. Vol. I. p. 56.)

The reader, we presume, would hardly guess, that the whole of the vigour displayed upon this occasion, consisted in peaceably landing upon the island, from whence the former commander had as vigorously run away, and where the inhabitants, who were favourably disposed to the dictator's interests, received his lieutenant with open arms. Our next extract is a description of a garden; which, we think, would do full as well for the gardens of Alcinous, or of Babylon, or indeed for any garden that was ever described.

'The other front of Sallust's house looked to the gardens. Here, every beauty of nature, and every embellishment of art, seem to have been assembled, which could delight or gratify the senses. Umbrageous walks, open parterres, and cool porticoes, displayed their various attractions. Amidst shrubs and flowers of every hue and odour, interspersed with statues of the most exquisite workmanship; pure streams of water preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; and while on the one hand the distant prospect caught the eye, on the other the close retreat invited to repose or meditation. (Essay I. Vol. I. p. 64.)

Of the three passages which immediately follow, the two first are, to us, unintelligible; and, in the feeble periphrasis of the last, it is with difficulty that we recognize the meaning of the original.

'Concerning your munificence and liberality, what further need I say, than is so fully attested by the world; whose applause is unable to keep pace with your merits; whose diligence shall sooner sink under the labour of commendation, than your efforts relax in the career of glory?' (Vol. I. p. 450. I. Epist. to Cæs.)

'On due consideration, notwithstanding, we shall find, that man, above all creatures, is gifted with excellence and energy; although the one he degrades, and the other he misapplies; in his pursuits far more frequently without diligence, than talents to direct it, or time for their exertion.' (Vol. II. p. 323.)

'But the ruffian who stabs in the dark, men of courage and virtue are not prepared to resist: they are ignorant of his arts, and unsuspicious of his purposes; and they too often perish by the blow.' (I. 456.)

The Latin of this last passage is, 'occulta pericula neque facere, neque vitare, bonis in promptu est.' (Orat. ad Cæs. in Lat. edit.—2. 8vo. Var. p. 522.)

The dignity of historical language might have been better maintained by a more sober English for the word *dolum* (Vol. II. 36.) than 'hellish artifice.' In what follows, there is a redundant nominative, viz. *they*.

'That profligate set of men, seeing the impression made by the battering engines, and their own situation wholly desperate, *they* conveyed to the royal palace all the gold and silver, and other valuable property they could collect.' (Vol. II. p. 437.)

Again, in the following passage, the members of the sentence are improperly disjoined; and the meaning of *ad id locorum* is mistaken: these words certainly refer to Marius's time of life; not to the period of Rome. 'Tamen is ad id locorum (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) consulatum appetere non audebat.' (Bell. Jugurth. c. 63. 8vo. var.)

'Such was Marius once; ere ambition corrupted his heart, and fatally urged him to the wildest excesses. In that period, even a man like Marius had not, as yet, ventured to offer himself for the supreme magistracy.' (Vol. II. p. 420.)

Dr Johnson, who, in the spirit of sound criticism, laughed at Blackwell for his absurd titles of 'secretary at war,' and 'paymaster and commissary general,' in the service of 'Augustus,' (Pref. p. 29.) would hardly have been less amused at 'plenipotentiaries' for '*legatos*,' (Jugurth. Bell. 103. v. 2. p. 484.) or the phrase 'pending the negotiation,' (v. 2. 485.) for '*interea*,' in the following passage. 'Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit: ab consule *interea* inducíæ postulabantur.' (Jugurth. Bell. c. 104.) Nor do we think that the same critic would have been much more tolerant to the following translation.

'Resolving to alter the disposition of his troops, he instantly formed the line to the front, *in the right division*, that flank being next the enemy. The order he chose was that of three lines, the first covered and supported by the two others. The slingers and archers were ordered into the intervals between the companies of foot; and all the cavalry posted on the wings. Having encouraged the men by a concise speech, such as the nature of his situation and the shortness of the time would permit, he commanded the whole to *file off from the left*, and marched down, *in column*, to the plain.' (Vol. II. p. 399.)

The original is,—'Ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextro latere, quod proxumum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores, et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum o-

omnem in cornibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicut instruxerat, transversis principiis in planum deducit.' (Bell. Jugurth. 49.) Dr Steuart calls this 'clothing the military part of the narrative in an appropriate dress; without which, (he thinks) in the present diffusion of military ideas throughout the island, it could have been perused with no pleasure, by a reader of discernment.' (Pref. p. 29.)

From what has been said, our readers may without much difficulty infer, that we are not likely to agree with Dr Steuart, that this will probably 'be the last time that the true principles of translation will need to be defended by a formal discussion.' (Pref. p. 23.) After all, however, the translation is tolerable enough; and if it had been printed by itself, in a cheap volume, might have had a fair chance of becoming popular among lazy schoolboys, or even of being occasionally pored on by ladies who had pretensions to learning. As it is, we really cannot conscientiously join the worthy author, in recommending it to the use of 'the great schools of the kingdom' (Pref. p. 39.), though we conceive that there exists, in its exorbitant price, a much more serious obstacle to its being adopted in them, than the want of our approbation. Whether it will make its way into Germany, as its author seems to expect, (vol. I. p. 418.), and, if it does, whether the pockets and the patience of German readers will enable them to benefit by it, we do not pretend to determine; but we will venture to predict, that, in our own island, its circulation will not be very extensive.

ART. XI. *Britain independent of Commerce; or, Proofs deduced from an Investigation into the true Causes of the Wealth of Nations, that our Riches, Prosperity and Power are derived from Resources inherent in ourselves, and would not be affected, even though our Commerce were annihilated.* By WILLIAM SPENCE, F. L. S. The Third Edition. Cadell & Davies. London, 1807.

FROM the sensation which this pamphlet has excited, we were naturally led to expect that some important truths were brought to light in it, which had been totally overlooked by preceding political economists, although of a nature to afford peculiar consolation under the present lowering aspect of public affairs. We were a good deal disappointed, therefore, to find in it merely a restatement and application to the present state of things, of the doctrine of the French economists, with only one slight alteration for the better, and with two or three antiquated errors retained, which these ingenious writers had long since most successfully exposed. As, however, we consider the talent of making important truths

familiar to the general mass of society, almost as valuable as the original discovery of them, we were prepared to give Mr Spence no small degree of praise, if it had appeared, that the impression which his publication had made, was to be attributed to the peculiar force of language, or happiness of illustration, with which he had stated any old truths: But as, after a careful perusal, we are at a loss to point out to the reader any passages of this description, we are compelled to conclude, that the present extraordinary crisis of public affairs, which has given occasion to the ephemeral title of the pamphlet, together with the attention which has been repeatedly drawn to it in a journal of great circulation, must more than divide with Mr Spence, the credit derived from its popularity. Such being our general impressions, we perhaps owe some apology to our readers for making it the subject of serious discussion; but it will be recollected, that one of our professed objects has always been, to use our feeble endeavours in assisting the public judgment on those topics to which its attention was actually directed; and consequently, that the mere popularity of any work gives it a claim upon our attention, independently of its intrinsic merits.

As Mr Spence's production is not very long, we will advert to the principal parts of it, nearly in the order in which they occur; at least where his desultory mode of treating the subject will admit; noticing, as we go along, the errors into which we conceive he has fallen.

After some preliminary matter on Bonaparte, and on the gratification which the public must feel at being convinced by the arguments about to be propounded to them,— Mr Spence proceeds to express a very safe and laudable opinion, that gold and silver alone do not constitute wealth,—and to give a definition of wealth, to which we by no means object, but which we think will be found, together with his opinion respecting the value of the precious metals, in direct opposition to the doctrines which he afterwards maintains.

Mr Spence divides the political economists, who have investigated the sources of national wealth, into two great classes,—the mercantile sect, and the agricultural sect; without noticing the followers of Dr Smith, who hold a middle doctrine, and among whom we conceive by far the greatest portion of truth will be found to lye. As Dr Smith has endeavoured to refute both these sects, he certainly cannot be properly classed in either; yet, entirely to exclude him from among those who have investigated the sources of national wealth, does not seem to imply much discrimination in the outset of a discussion on a subject of political economy. Mr Spence next proceeds to state the well known argument of M. Quesnai on the unproductiveness of manufactures; and in a sub-

sequent page, alludes to the confused and unintelligible attempt of Dr Smith to refute it. Though we are reviewing Mr Spence, and not the economists, it may not be irrelevant to the general question, or to the reflection on Dr Smith, here noticed, to observe, that if the arguments of Dr Smith had been expressly directed against the definition of productiveness given by the economists, as evidently too confined to include all national wealth, instead of against the natural consequences respecting manufactures, which followed from this confined definition, we conceive that they would have been satisfactory; as we are of opinion, that they really do prove, that manufactures are productive of national wealth independently of the circumstance of whether they do or do not produce a net rent. We allude particularly to the third argument adduced by Dr Smith,* which has often been controverted by the friends of the economical system; but as to which we agree entirely with the illustrious author, viz. that the real revenue of the whole society is to be estimated, not only by all the food that is consumed, but also, by all the manufactures and commodities of all kinds which are produced during that consumption, or, what amounts to nearly the same thing, by the value of all that each individual in the country consumes, which evidently consists, not only in a certain portion of food, but in a certain quantity of manufactures, and other commodities in addition to it. In confirmation of this opinion, we will only make one observation, which to us, we confess, appears conclusive. If the food given to an artificer were, like the seeds committed to the earth, absolutely thrown away, unless they yielded a greater return, we might be disposed to agree with the economists, that the production of a net rent is essential to the increase of wealth; but as we know of no other important use of food but that of being applied in the support of human creatures, and as, in performing this office, it fulfils its appropriate and final destination, we cannot see how a country can be said to be poorer for this consumption; on the contrary, we should say, and we think that the economists ought to agree with us, that, putting manufactures out of the question, any particular district of country would be called richer on account of its producing a greater quantity of corn, and of being able to support equally well a greater number of human creatures; but if this be allowed, it follows incontestably, that a country is enriched by manufactures, not merely in proportion to the excess of their value above the food and raw materials of which they may be said to be composed, but in proportion to the whole of their value, when fit for consumption, in clear addition to the food consumed during their preparation.

* Vol. III. p. 23. 6th Edition.

Mr Spence so far differs from the economists, as to be of opinion, that, in the state of landed property in Europe, which has resulted from the feudal system, manufactures have formed, and must continue to form, the principal stimulus to agriculture. In this, he nearly follows the mode of treating the subject adopted by Dr Smith; and this is the only point in which he appears to us to have differed from the economists with success; but it is only a very partial improvement, as he still retains the opinion, that manufactures are 'no source at all of national wealth,' except in as far as they furnish a powerful stimulus to an increased cultivation of the soil. The general grounds of our entire dissent from this opinion, we have stated in the preceding paragraph; but we cannot quit the subject of home manufactures, without noticing an important error, into which Mr Spence has fallen, on the subject of trading profits.

He asserts roundly, that no addition can be made to the national wealth by the accumulation of profits in the hands of the home trader; and to illustrate this position, or, in the stronger language of Mr Spence, to *demonstrate* it, he takes the instance of a coachmaker, whom he supposes to sell a coach for sixty quarters of corn, which it had cost him fifty to make; and he observes, that if the coachmaker becomes ten pounds richer in consequence of the profitable transfer, the landholder or purchaser of the coach, whoever he may be, will be ten pounds poorer than if he had got it at the original cost; and, consequently, that the national wealth is just the same after the transfer, as before. Taking an individual transaction of this kind after the commodity is made, we might allow the first part of this observation; though the consequence with respect to national wealth would by no means follow, as both parties may fairly be said to have gained, by having obtained what they wanted, in exchange for what they did not want. But, independently of this consideration, we would observe, in the first place, that it is quite clear, the coach would never have existed, if the coachmaker could obtain no profits; and, in the next place, that the ten quarters of corn beyond the original cost of the commodity, and other quarters collected in the same way by similar transfers, perform, in the hands of the master-manufacturer, a most important office in the production of national wealth. Various sums which would otherwise be spent as revenue, are accumulated by these means into the form of capital, by which the master manufacturer is enabled to command such a quantity of raw materials,—such a quantity of food and clothing, in the shape of wages to his workmen,—and such a quantity of the necessary machinery for carrying on his trade, as, in the existing state of the market, is best suited to that division

of labour, and application of his materials, which will enable him to produce the greatest quantity of commodities at the least cost; by which process, not only future production is facilitated, and manufactures multiplied, but, as a necessary consequence, they come cheaper to the purchaser; and the whole society is decidedly enriched by the greater abundance of consumable commodities produced in it.

If it were not for the establishment of this system of commerce and manufactures which Mr Spence is here attempting to depreciate, and for the skill and dexterity which it engenders, it is perfectly evident that the coach, which is now constructed by a quantity of labour which can be maintained with fifty quarters of grain, could not have been put together by twice as much labour. If men had not been trained to coach-making by those gainful establishments and that subdivision of labour which constitute the commercial system, it is obvious that it would have taken at least twice as many men, and twice as long a time, to manufacture a coach, as it does now with the benefit of these establishments. There must also have been a proportionately greater waste of materials. If a coach, therefore, be a part of wealth, it is evident, that wealth must be increased by that system of commerce and subdivided labour by which coaches are multiplied with less consumption either of food or materials. The case is precisely the same with every other production of industry; and the multiplication of every thing which contributes to the comfort or delight of human beings, is evidently dependent, in a great degree, on that accumulation of capital, and that perfection of manufacture, which Mr Spence conceives to make no addition to the wealth of a country. For our own parts, we know not whence is derived that proud preeminence which England enjoys in agricultural and manufacturing capital, which enables her to cultivate her lands so well with such few hands; and, with the price of labour at two shillings a-day, to contend in the low price of muslins with the natives of India, who work for an eighth part of the sum,—unless it be to the accumulation and skilful direction of the profits derived from the transfers here described; and it is to be sure a most gross inconsistency in Mr Spence, who thinks that we are not enriched by foreign commerce, and that expenditure is the sole duty of the landholder, to treat as unproductive the only remaining source of that capital which makes a part of his definition of wealth.

Mr Spence, however, seems to be of opinion, that there is another far more powerful source of riches to a nation, which Dr Smith has overlooked; and 'that the extension of the wealth of a society depends on the yearly expenditure of the revenue which

the land proprietors derive from the soil.' It is absolutely necessary, he says, that they should spend this revenue; and, 'so long as they perform this duty, every thing goes on in its proper train.'

It must really be a great consolation to the landed gentlemen of this country to hear, that, in spending the whole of their incomes, to which they are generally sufficiently prompted by inclination, they are performing so patriotic a duty; and we doubt not that they will confer some signal mark of their approbation upon Mr Spence, if he succeeds in establishing their very high public deserts on account of this most usual and not very arduous part of their conduct. But without meaning to detract from the merits of a set of men for whom we have the most sincere respect; we would just observe, that in the present state of society, they would not, with us at least, forfeit the fair character which they have hitherto enjoyed, if they were occasionally to lay by a little for younger children when they have large families; nor would they, in our eyes, be guilty of any great crime towards the State, even if so many as were so disposed, and there would be no great danger of their numbers being prodigious, were to be as parsimonious as Mr Elwes. While the greatest part of the land in the country is let in farms, and all the rest is cultivated for profit, and is generally best cultivated where most profits are saved, the parsimony of some landlords would in no respect impede the flow of raw produce into the market for the general use of the society; and the savings so obtained would operate precisely in the same manner on the general prosperity of the country, as the accumulation of the profits of trade before alluded to.

We are perfectly ready to admit, that consumption must exist somewhere, or there could be no production; and that there are limits to the accumulation of capital, though we do not know where to place them: but we are strongly disposed to believe, that production generates consumption, as well as consumption production; and that an increasing capital naturally produces an increased use of consumable commodities, from the greater cheapness of manufactures, the comparative higher price of labour, the improved cultivation of the soil, the more rapid increase of population, and the constant growth of an important class of consumers living upon the profits of stock, and the interest of money. There cannot, in our conception, be a more gross error, than to consider, as Mr Spence does, the land proprietors as almost the sole, or, at least, the principal consumers in the country. They were so perhaps four hundred years ago; but almost every subsequent year has diminished their relative importance in this light. Our landlords at present have not the distribution of much above a

fourth part of the value of the raw produce raised in the country; and our readers already know, that we consider the gross revenue of the society as greatly exceeding the gross produce of the soil. We can form no guess at the portion of manufactures consumed in London by our land proprietors; but we should conceive that it was comparatively not very considerable; and that our cotton manufacturers would be more alarmed at a non-consumption agreement among the wives, daughters, and maid-servants of tradesmen and labourers, than among the country gentlemen.

It is very far from being true, that the manufacturer derives the whole of his revenue from the land proprietor. He derives indeed his food, and whatever raw materials he may want of home growth, which, we are most perfectly ready to acknowledge, are the most important, because the most necessary part of his revenue: but for his clothes, his houses, his furniture, and numberless other articles of comfort and convenience, which unquestionably form a part of the revenue he consumes, and often the largest part, he is indebted to other manufacturers. Each manufacturer and artificer becomes a consumer to his brother manufacturers and artificers in different lines; and if history tells true, the states of Holland and Venice, particularly the latter, at the period of their greatest prosperity, experienced all the enriching effects that can arise from a great consumption, without the aid of many land proprietors. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the importance which Mr Spence attaches to the circumstance of fifty landlords becoming parsimonious, which, according to his own calculation, could only occasion a check on agriculture and manufactures to the amount of a million, while he regards as insignificant a check from the stoppage of foreign commerce to the amount of fifty millions, which, in the actual state of things, would operate precisely in the same way, and only be different from the greatness of its extent. We are quite certain, that, in those feelings, the manufacturers in our great staples of woollens, leather, iron, &c. as well as cotton, cannot sympathize with him; and, while they would treat with the most perfect indifference the threat of a few landlords to imitate Mr Elwes, they may not be able to contemplate, with the same unconcern, the loss of all the lack-land consumers of Europe or America.

We come now to Mr Spence's main argument against foreign commerce, which we suppose must be considered as the one by which he means to stand or fall, as it is only by the establishment of this argument to the satisfaction of the public, that he can justisfy his title-page, to which he has called so much attention. A few observations, we think, will be sufficient to show how completely he has bewildered himself on this subject, in one of the worst parts of the system of the economists,—their

doctrine of the exchange of equivalents; and how totally unconscious he seems to be of the true nature of foreign commerce. But, lest we should unintentionally misrepresent Mr Spence's meaning on so important a point, we shall quote the passages in which his principal positions and proofs are advanced; and they will serve as a fair specimen of the style in which the pamphlet is written.

'As all commerce naturally divides itself into commerce of import and export, I shall, in the first place, endeavour to prove, that no riches, no increase of national wealth can in *any case* be derived from commerce of import; and, in the next place, that although national wealth may, in some cases, be derived from commerce of export, yet that Britain, in consequence of particular circumstances, has not derived, nor does derive, from this branch of commerce, *any portion of her national wealth*; and consequently, that her riches, her prosperity, and her power, are intrinsic, derived from her own resources, independent of commerce, and might and will exist, even though her trade should be annihilated. These positions, untenable as at first glance they may seem, I do not fear of being able to establish to the satisfaction of those who will dismiss from their minds the deep-rooted prejudices with which, on this subject, they are warped; and who, no longer contented with examining the mere surface of things, shall determine to penetrate through every stratum of the mine which conceals the grand truths of political economy.'

After this bold intimation of his intentions, he thus proceeds to establish his positions; inclining, as the reader will see, rather more to that easy and impressive figure of speech called assertion, than to that more difficult and duller one of proof.

'*Every one must allow*, that for whatever a nation purchases in a foreign market, it gives an adequate value, either in money, or in other goods; so far then, *certainly*, it gains no profit nor addition to its wealth; it has changed one sort of wealth for another, but it has not increased the amount it was before possessed of. Thus, when the India Company has exchanged a quantity of bullion with the Chinese for tea, no one will say that this mere exchange is any increase of national wealth. We have gained a quantity of tea, but we have parted with an equal value of gold and silver; and if this tea were sold at home for exactly the same sum that had been given for it, it would be allowed on all hands, that no wealth had accrued to the nation from this transfer. But because goods, bought at a foreign market, and sold at home, have their value considerably augmented by the charge of transporting them, the duty paid to government, the profit of the merchant, importer, &c.; it is contended by the disciples of the mercantile system, that this increased value is so much profit to the nation,—so much addition to the amount of national wealth. Thus, a quantity of tea, say they, which has cost in China 1000*l.*, will, by the charges and profits which have occurred upon it, previous to its exposure for sale in England, have

its value augmented to 1500*l.*, and will be sold for that sum at home. Since then the tea cost but 1000*l.* and has been sold for 1500*l.*, is not this 500*l.* an addition to national wealth? To this question I answer, *No; certainly not.* There is no doubt but the persons concerned in this transaction have gained a profit, and have added to their individual wealth. The ship-owner has added to his wealth by the freight of the tea; the underwriter by his premiums of insurance upon it: the government has increased the revenue by the duties of customs and excise; and the East India Company has augmented its dividend by the profit gained upon this article. But the question is, from whence have these profits of the ship-owner, the underwritter, the government, and the East India Company been derived? Have they not been drawn from the consumers of this tea? and is it not *as clear as the noon day*, that whatever the former have gained, the latter have lost; that the latter are exactly poorer in proportion as the former are richer; and in short, that a transfer, not a creation of wealth has taken place? If this tea had been sold for 1000*l.*, the bare sum which it cost, would the nation have been poorer than if it were sold for 1500*l.*? *Certainly not.* In this case, the consumers of the tea would have kept in their pockets the 500*l.* which, on the other supposition, they transferred to the pockets of the ship-owner, the insurer, &c.; but the national wealth would be neither increased nor diminished.

'The same reasoning is applicable to all commerce of import. In every case *the value of an article is what it has cost in the foreign market;* and whatever it is sold for more than this, is a transfer of wealth from the consumers of the article to those who gain a profit by it: but in no instance is there any addition to national wealth created by this branch of commerce.'

These are the principal arguments by which Mr Spence controverts the notion of wealth being derived from a commerce of import. The following are his concessions in favour of the commerce of export.

'If it be clear that no increase of national wealth can be derived from commerce of import, it is on the other hand equally plain, that in some cases an increase of national wealth may be derived from commerce of export. The value obtained in foreign markets for the manufactures which a nation exports, resolves itself into the value of the food which has been expended in manufacturing them, and the profits of the master-manufacturer and the exporting merchant. These profits are undoubtedly national profit. Thus, when a lace-manufacturer has been so long employed in the manufacturing a pound of flax into lace, that his subsistence during that period has cost 30*l.*, this sum is the real worth of the lace; and if it be sold at home, whether for 30*l.* or 60*l.*, the nation is, as has been shown, no richer for this manufacture. But if this lace be exported to another country, and there sold for 60*l.*, it is undeniable, that the exporting nation has added 30*l.* to its wealth by its sale, since the cost of it was only 30*l.*'

Now, if Mr Spence had undertaken to prove the very reverse of the proposition here maintained, and to show that commerce of import was profitable, and commerce of export not; we should have thought that he had a much more hopeful task in hand. For, to us, on the first glance, it appears inconceivable, how a nation can get paid for its exports but by its imports; and though we have taken Mr Spence's hint, and have 'no longer been contented to examine the mere surface of things,' but have endeavoured 'to penetrate through every stratum of the mine which conceals the grand truths of political economy;' yet, strange to say! our deep-rooted prejudices still remain, and we cannot see on these subjects with the eyes of Mr Spence.

To justify, in some measure, our obstinacy, let us examine his last illustration; and we hope that the remarks to which it will give occasion, will throw some light on the whole passage quoted.

Mr Spence allows, that if an English merchant exports laces or other goods which cost 30*l.* and sells them in a foreign country for 60*l.*, that the profit of 30*l.* is so much addition to the national wealth. But how, we would ask, is this 30*l.* to get home? If it comes in the shape of foreign goods, the whole transaction is immediately altered in the vocabulary of Mr Spence. It becomes a commerce of import, an exchange of equivalents, from which no national wealth can possibly be derived. It is necessary, therefore, that it should come home in the shape of gold and silver; and the inevitable result of Mr Spence's reasonings is, that no foreign commercial transaction can enrich a nation, but the purchase of bullion. This certainly is not the doctrine of the economists; and is one of the instances alluded to at the commencement of these observations, in which Mr Spence retains some of the prejudices which they have so ably refuted. If he had attended to them on this subject, they would have told him, and told him truly, that a balance of trade paid in the precious metals, is the *pis-aller* of foreign commerce,* the last and most unprofitable resort, when one nation has exported a quantity of goods, and cannot find an equal value of foreign goods that are wanted at home, in return. But this result of Mr Spence's reasonings, is not only contrary to the doctrines of the economists, but directly contrary to his own definition of wealth; which, he says expressly, does not consist in gold and silver, but in 'abundance of capital, of cultivated and productive land, and of those things which man usually esteems valuable.' †

We are astonished that the manner in which Mr Spence states the instance of the exporting merchant, did not lead him to the

* Phisiocratie, Seconde partie, p. 344.

† P. 9. 2nd edition.

true source of the national profit derived from the commerce of import; for, as to the commerce of export, we can only consider it as profitable, because it is the necessary condition of getting imports. A slight alteration in Mr Spence's statement will, we think, explain the matter.

The English merchant exports what cost him 30*l.*, and sells it in a foreign country for 60*l.* With 30*l.* of this 60*l.* he purchases a certain quantity of foreign goods, which his countrymen at home consider as of equal value with the goods exported; and the undeniable evidence of their considering them in this light, is their willingness to give 30*l.* for them. Here, then, appears to be a fair exchange of equivalents: but, in addition to this, the merchant has got another 30*l.*, which he lays out likewise in those foreign goods which he thinks are most wanted by his countrymen; and these surplus goods flow in to the merchant, and through him to the nation, exactly like a rent paid in kind from a foreign country, which increases by its whole amount the quantity of consumable commodities in the nation which receives it. This view of the commerce of import, has, it must be confessed, every appearance of contributing to national wealth: but all this fair appearance of profit is at once dashed to pieces by Mr Spence, who says, that the goods flowing in, as just described, will be sold and consumed at home; that what the seller gains, the buyer loses; and that, though the merchants may obtain ever so great profits, yet, as they must necessarily be collected from their proportionably impoverished customers, the national wealth cannot possibly be augmented. This is, to be sure, a most distressing argument, if true, from the almost universal manner in which it may be applied; but we conceive it to be quite evident that it involves a most grievous fallacy.

Let us suppose a case, which we hope may happen, though we confess our fears that it will not, greatly preponderate;—let us suppose that the emperors of France, Russia, and Austria were to send to our fraternity of reviewers at Edinburgh, five hundred thousand quarters of corn, fifty thousand pipes of wine, and ten thousand poods of tallow, as a *slender* testimony of their sense of the benefits which they and their subjects have derived from our critical labours, of which, to use the language of our great bard on a still more important occasion, 'all Europe rings from side to side.' If, after having well lighted our apartments through the medium of one part of the present, and most fully refreshed ourselves with the very seasonable supply of the other two, we were to feel the very natural ambition of being well dressed, as well as well fed, and were in consequence to sell a large part of the remainder for the purpose of improving our coats, and purchasing

other articles of comfort and convenience, would Mr Spence immediately apply to his unfortunate doctrine of equivalents, and assert, that though we might be enriched a little at the expense of our foreign friends by what they consumed in kind, yet all that we sold was paid for by the poor Scotch; that what one party gained, the other lost; and that the nation was not a grain the richer? Would it not still be true, whether the goods were sold in the country or not, that the consumable commodities in Scotland were increased by five hundred thousand quarters of corn, fifty thousand pipes of wine, and ten thousand poods of tallow, and that the consequent increased consumption and enjoyment of the inhabitants were entirely at the expense of the illustrious potentates who had sent so handsome a supply?

We really cannot distinguish the national profit derived from the incident here noticed, from that which is derived from the clear profits of a foreign merchant to the same amount, brought home in foreign goods: and the circumstance of their being sold at home, instead of being distributed *gratis*, so far from detracting from the national advantage, would, in our opinion, greatly add to it; as the wish to possess these desirable articles would stimulate many kinds of industry, and the consumable commodities of the country would be increased by much more than the goods imported. If Mr Spence were consistent in the application of his doctrine of equivalents, he would be compelled to say, that no part of the produce of a landed estate which was brought to market and sold, could contribute to national wealth, because an equivalent was always given for it by the purchaser. We have no doubt, that even Mr Spence himself would start at this conclusion; and yet it is certain, that at the end of his pamphlet, when he is speaking of our colonial possessions, he has advanced some positions which, in point of absurdity, do not fall short of the conclusion here noticed. As the mistakes to which we allude belong entirely to the present subject, we will point them out before we quit it, that we may not have occasion to revert to it again.

The economists would have told Mr Spence, * and he might have seen the point fully and clearly established in Mr Brougham's able *Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, that colonies ought to be considered as provinces of the mother country, only to be distinguished from them by their want of contiguity. This want of contiguity indeed is, in some points of view, a very important defect, particularly as it subjects them,

* Des colonies sont des provinces de la metropole. Phisiocratie, seconde partie. Sommaire, p. 506.

and the capital employed upon them, to be cut off at once from the main body of the empire; but there can be no doubt that, as long as the connexion exists, the national wealth derived from them is of the same nature as that from a contiguous province. The principal part of what Great Britain receives from her West Indian colonies, consists of remittances of rents and profits to the proprietors of West India estates living in England. These rents and profits, of course, greatly exceed in value all that goes from this country in the form of capital; and the balance is sent to the landlords in London, in the shape of sugar and rum, &c. Now we own that our intellectual optics can perceive no essential difference between this transaction and that which would take place in the case of a land proprietor living in London, who might choose to farm an estate which he had near Berwick upon Tweed, by means of an agent, and receive his rents in kind. He might occasionally remit some capital from London, in the shape of improved farming machinery, or of oats or clothing for his labourers, when these articles happened to be cheaper at London than at Berwick; but a large balance in proportion to the value of his estate and the capital laid out upon it, would evidently be due to him; and the agent would remit it in Berwick smacks (if they were not too much crowded with passengers), in the shape of wheat and malt. But Mr Spence observes, that the sugar and rum would be sold, and the profits collected from the customers in England.—So would the wheat and malt.—Where then is the difference?

On the subject of wealth derived from colonies, Mr Spence makes one of the oddest concessions which we ever recollect to have met with. He admits, 'that if the greater part of our colonial produce were sold with a profit to other nations, and if this profit were drawn either in gold or silver, or in any other wealth, into the mother country, we should then gain an accession of wealth.'* This, the reader will see, for we quote the author's words, is merely an expression of Mr Spence's opinion, that gold or silver, or any other wealth, is better than colonial produce. Now we really think that this is a question which should be left to the choice and taste of the public; and as we have great reason, from experience, to expect, that, if they were left at liberty, they would employ the gold or silver, or other wealth acquired in the way proposed by Mr Spence, in the purchase of colonial produce, we really cannot see what great accession of wealth could be derived from this very roundabout mode of getting at what they want.

* Page 85.

The cultivation of the West India islands, however, by British capital, on account probably of the strong resemblance which it occasions between an English and a West Indian landlord, seems, in a slight degree, to have staggered Mr Spence; and on this subject, he does not appear to us to speak quite in his usual high tone. But as soon as he looks towards the East, all his confidence returns, and he exultingly exclaims, 'No one will pretend that the tea, &c. which we import from it, are raised by British capital; and consequently every one must admit, that whatever may be the profit of the East India Company on the articles they import, the whole of it is drawn from the consumers of these articles, and therefore that the dividends of the East India proprietors, are a mere transfer from the pockets of the community to them.' *

The first part of this observation we are by no means disposed to controvert. We are far from pretending, that the produce of the East is raised by British capital; but this acknowledgement, instead of detracting from the wealth we derive from India, appears to us to increase the net amount of it. A certain number of gentlemen and ladies living in Great Britain, however strange it may appear at first sight, are in fact territorial sovereigns of a very large part of India. A portion of this territorial revenue, their servants and factors in the East invest in Indian and Chinese goods, to an amount which, in the estimation of the people of Great Britain, is equal to from six to ten millions: and, that their real value in London, whatever they might have cost in the East, is this, is clearly evinced by the voluntary offer of English coin, English bank notes, or English goods, to this amount, which is made to obtain them. It is allowed, that very little comparatively, is sent out to India; that the balance consequently is prodigious; and if this great balance, flowing in to the country in the shape of consumable commodities, be not an accession to the national wealth, all our ideas on these subjects are at once confounded, and we must go to school again. We would willingly take lessons in political economy, even from Mr Spence, if he would write a little consistently, and in a manner to produce conviction; but, unfortunately, when we attempt to begin his publication again, we stumble upon his definition of wealth, and are at once bewildered in our attempts to reconcile his present assertion, that a great accession of Indian and Chinese goods does not increase the riches of a nation, with a definition of wealth which makes it consist in the abundance of those things which man usually considers as valuable.

* P. 87.

Mr Spence's plan for getting real wealth from India, like his plan for getting it from the West Indies, shows an unusual kind of knowledge of the subject. He says, that 'the only way in which any national profit could be drawn from our East India territories, would be from taxes levied upon the inhabitants there, and transmitted to England.'* This, we conceive, is exactly what is done at present. Taxes are really levied upon the inhabitants there, and transmitted to England in goods; and the only effect of transmitting them in bullion instead, would be, that the bullion, on account of its greater plenty here, compared with India, would go out again as fast as possible for the goods; and we really are a little at a loss to conjecture, how this double voyage, or the bringing home one commodity instead of another which is more wanted, should at once make our connexion with India profitable, when it was unprofitable before.

Mr Spence, as a kind of corollary to his grand doctrine about commerce of import, indulges himself in a few financial speculations; and we are truly sorry that we cannot compliment him on a greater degree of skill, in this branch of political economy, than in others. He says, that 'the arguments made use of to show that no national wealth is derived from commerce of import, will serve also to show the absurdity of their notions who talk of the importance of such and such branches of commerce, because of the great duties which are levied on them at the custom-house or excise-office. Such reasoners will insist upon the vast value of our East India trade, because of the three or four millions which the public revenue derives from the duties imposed on the articles imported from thence. They do not consider that all such duties are finally paid by the consumers of the articles on which they are laid; and that these consumers are equally able to pay the sums they advance, whether or not they consume the articles on which they are levied.'† He then instances the cases of the consumers of tea and ale; and intimates, that if they were to substitute for them the wholesome beverage of water, they would not only have the same, but a much greater power of contributing to the state in taxes. We would recommend to Mr Spence to improve this hint, and to suggest to his Majesty's ministers the propriety of obliging all people, by law, to confine themselves to mere necessaries, that what they now spend in conveniences and luxuries may be at the disposal of the government. As this is at present a prodigiously large sum, it might answer their purpose completely, and enable them to carry on the war with vigour *ad infinitum*. Yet, somehow or other, we

* P. 88. † P. 41.

shrewdly suspect, that this fund, great as it is at present, would in a few years most rapidly diminish. The same people who are now seen exerting every nerve to obtain tea, sugar, wine, ale, tobacco, &c. would, we are afraid, soon slacken their efforts, when they were convinced by experience that they were never to enjoy these objects of their desire, but were to pay the sum that would have purchased them into the exchequer.

Mr Spence has chosen, as the motto for his pamphlet, a passage from Hume's Essays on Commerce. We wish that, instead of fixing his attention upon so small a part, he had read and digested the whole. He would then have learned, that, in the common course of human affairs, soveigns must take mankind as they find them, and cannot pretend to introduce any violent change in their principles and ways of thinking; that the less natural any set of principles are which support a particular society, the more difficulty will a legislator meet in raising and cultivating them; that that policy is violent which aggrandizes the public by the poverty of individuals; and that, as our passions are the only causes of labour, these must be called forth by adequate incitements, or (except under very peculiar circumstances) industry, and its offspring, production, will infallibly languish.

It is not enough for a chancellor of the exchequer to recommend to his Majesty's subjects to leave off tea and ale, that they may be better able to pay taxes, unless his eloquence in favour of war has power to persuade them to like paying taxes, as well as drinking tea and ale. Nor do we think that Mr Spence will succeed in convincing the good people of England to go without wine, and to hoard Birmingham manufactures, unless he can communicate to them the same extraordinary passion for hardware which he himself seems to possess. * In these matters, as Hume says, we must take mankind as we find them: And though we feel ourselves, in some sort, bound by the office we have undertaken, to enter our protest against any striking depravity in the public taste; yet, in this instance, we are disposed to be silent, and to leave people to their own tastes and judgments in regard to what most contributes to their happiness. To say the truth, indeed, we are ourselves inclined to go with the stream in this particular; and though we abhor excess, we should decidedly

* One of Mr Spence's most constant themes, is his strong preference for manufactures of an unperishable nature, compared with those which are speedily consumed, and 'leave not a wreck behind.' This is another of his doctrines, which he did not learn from the Economists. Their system is dreadfully mangled in his hands. He has retained their errors, and rejected their excellences.

prefer a present of a glass of claret, or port, to refresh us after the weary task of reviewing Mr Spence, to the hardest and most everlasting button that was ever constructed. Nor would the consciousness of our being able to hoard such articles to 'an immense amount,' in any degree alter our decision; having neither inclination, nor warehouses, for such a species of hoarding; and having, besides, those dull intellects alluded to by Mr Spence, * which prevent us from seeing that Sir Richard Arkwright's great fortune arose from his spending his gains in hardware, instead of tea and sugar. We rather think, indeed, that the fact is against Mr Spence in the present instance; and that, if he will take the trouble to analyze Sir Richard Arkwright's capital, divesting himself for a moment of the idea of a circulating medium, he will find, that by far the largest part of it consisted in flour, meal, tea, sugar, ale, gin, rum, tobacco, soap, candles, and wearing apparel as the wages of his workmen, added to a great stock of raw cotton, and as little manufactured cotton as he could help; all articles, these, which in a few years would leave not a wreck, or at least only a rag behind. The other great branch of Sir Richard Arkwright's capital, would indeed be found of a more durable nature—machinery; but its value, we conceive, by no means arises merely from the circumstance of its hardness, but from its power of saving human labour, and of rendering consumeable commodities more abundant and cheaper. We have the greatest possible respect, as our readers already know, for the accumulation of capital, considering it as the great mean of future production, and of future consumption,—but no respect whatever for an accumulation of pots and pans, or knives and scissars beyond the use of the possessor, or the wants of his customers,—for such an accumulation, in short, as would be the result of depriving ourselves of wine, to hoard our Birmingham manufactures. Our difference with Mr Spence, in this respect, we conceive, must arise from the very different opinions we have of the nature of capital, and of the objects of which it is composed.

We intended to have noticed a few other topics in Mr Spence's production, such as his deviation from the economists into a wrong path on the subject of price; † his inconsistency in allowing home

---

* Page 55.

† On the subject of price, the economists may boast a superiority over Adam Smith; but we cannot reconcile their just views, in general, on this important point, with the very false doctrine which they apply to commerce, that, *Les prix précédent toujours les achats et les ventes.* Physiocratie, Vol. II. p. 259.

made laces to stimulate agriculture, and not foreign wines and teas; his hopeful recommendation to wear more coats than we want; his strange project for a standing navy, &c. &c. But our limits forbid us; and we have already extended this article so much further than we expected, and so much beyond what the size and merits of the pamphlet might seem to require, that we must hasten to a conclusion.

Though a regard to what we believe to be truth, and a sense of the folly of exciting false hopes, have induced us to declare very fully our entire dissent from Mr Spence's opinion on foreign trade, yet we are by no means inclined to be blind admirers of this species of commerce. Every rational political economist considers it as greatly inferior, both in magnitude and importance, to the internal trade of a country; and always places it below its two elder sisters, agriculture and manufactures. But, besides this view of its relative inferiority, in which the Economists, Dr Smith, and almost all modern writers agree, we have a few other objections to it, which we will shortly state.

In the first place, we think that it may be said of it, more peculiarly than of agriculture and manufactures, that it contains within itself the seeds of its own decay. It is scarcely possible for a peculiarly flourishing state of commerce to take place in any country, without such an influx of the precious metals as must occasion a universal rise of prices; or, what comes exactly to the same thing, without a paper currency, which only prevents this influx, by standing at a level a little lower in point of value than would have been the case if the metals had been allowed to take their natural course; and which, therefore, must have the same, or rather a greater, effect on prices.* This, we conceive, according to the principles of that admirable illustration of the balance of trade given by Hume, is the natural check to foreign commerce; and it is instructive to observe, that the greater is the industry, the skill, the capital, and colonial richness of any country, the lower will be the value of its currency, or the higher its general prices, before a check to its foreign commerce occurs. To such a prosperous state of foreign commerce, as

* With or without the Bank restriction, when, from an unusual abundance of exportable commodities, the current of the precious metals would naturally set strongly into this country, the Bank may increase its issue of notes without any apparent depreciation. But when, by means of this issue, the exchange with foreign countries, from being in our favour, quickly returns to par, the level, in point of value, at which the currency stands, will be at the least fully as low as if the balances had been paid in bullion, and the precious metals increased in quantity.

would naturally have occasioned a great influx of the precious metals, with this influx, checked only by a paper cnrrency attended with rather aggravated effects of the same kind, we are inclined to attribute, more than to all other circumstances combined, that rapid advance of prices which has taken place in this country during the last twenty years, and has occasioned so much discussion. And though, owing to the peculiar advantages we have enjoyed, this cause has not as yet affected our commerce; yet we think, that, proceeding in the same course, it must do so ultimately; and that, for a similar reason, foreign commerce cannot be expected permanently to bring into any country such a rapid accession of wealth as of late years has flowed from it into Great Britain, though there is no natural necessity that the check to it, when it comes, should either be very violent or very sudden.

Our second objection to foreign commerce is, that it is from its nature greatly exposed to external violence; to such checks, in short, as that under which we are apprehensive of suffering at present. And if a nation has habitually conducted itself upon the true principles of acquiring wealth, and has purchased all its commodities where they may be had the cheapest, it may have become dependent upon other countries for some of the most necessary and important articles of its consumption. Under these circumstances, a sudden check to foreign commerce from violent causes, can hardly fail of being attended with the most distressing consequences; and its liability to checks of this kind, forms with us a sufficient reason against pushing it to an excessive extent, and habitually importing articles of the first necessity which might be raised at home.

Our third objection to foreign commerce is, that, as we entirely agree with Hume and Dr Smith, in thinking that nations may be great and powerful without much foreign trade, * and that the internal commerce of a country is of infinitely greater consequence than its external; we hate to hear our exports and imports talked of as if they were exclusively the barometer of our public prosperity. In particular, we have a great dislike, when any plans are proposed which have for their object to elevate the character of the poor, to give them greater independence, and to endeavour generally to improve their conditions, to hear it immediately ób-

* There can be no doubt of the truth of Biſhop Berkeley's opinion, that a nation with a large and fertile territory might grow richer every year, although ſurrounded with a wall of braſs a thouſand cubits high; but it would neither grow rich ſo faſt, nor to ſuch a degree, as if it had the advantage of foreign commerce.

jected, that they may tend to raise the price of labour; that Great Britain will be undersold in foreign markets; and that her vent for woollens, cottons, and hardware will be contracted. We certainly are most ready to acknowledge, that the sale of those articles abroad tends to enrich Great Britain; but we think at the same time, that there are other objects worthy of the attention of Great Britain besides mere riches. When the question is between wine and hardware, we have no hesitation in rejecting the hardware; but if the question were between wine and an improvement in the condition of the poor, we are confident that we should as little hesitate in rejecting the wine: and in this feeling, we hope that Great Britain and her senators will always sympathize with us.

In these objections to foreign commerce, we trust that Mr Spence will see nothing inconsistent in the remarks which we have ventured to make on his pamphlet; as we evidently object to the great extension of this species of trade,—not because we agree with him in thinking that it is not productive of wealth, but because we think that its great extension is naturally attended with a bad consequence, similar to the excessive accumulation of the precious metals; because we think, that security and independence, with moderate wealth, are preferable to greater riches subject to frequent reverses; and because we think, that the happiness of the lower classes of people ought not to be put in competition with the sale of a few more woollens and cottons.

It is unnecessary to say any thing of the style of this pamphlet. Our readers will see, from the extracts given, that it possesses no very commendable qualities; but it is good enough for the purpose, if the substance which it conveyed were of value.

Art. XII. *Elisabeth, ou les Exilés de Sibérie.* Par Mme Cottin. A Paris. Réimprimé à Londres. 1806.

We are not, in general, particularly fond of novels founded on fact; but we must make an exception in favour of any thing so well executed as that which is before us. The daughter of a wretched exile in Siberia had the courage and filial piety to undertake and to perform a journey to Petersburgh, for the purpose of soliciting her father's liberty. This achievement, worthy of immortality, is the groundwork of Madame Cottin's tale, and we give her no mean praise in saying that she has done full justice to its merits. In one only respect is she unfaithful to her model. She has diminished, in her ideal picture, the dangers which the

true heroine actually surmounted, from the fear, as she informs us, of incurring the charge of extravagance. This, therefore, must add one to the many instances, in which the miracles of truth have soared above the level of fiction, and in which imaginary must yield to real virtue.

The character of Elisabeth as here drawn, is, in its general form and feature, such as might, we think, have been expected from the hand of a lady-artist. It is so natural that women should love to make their heroines a little heroic! that they should delight to place female excellence in attitudes noble no less than charming! that, resigning to us the empire of personal, and perhaps of intellectual power, they should still maintain an equal claim to the moral sublime,—to that higher sort of greatness which, like angels, seems to be of no sex!

To those women who have any real elevation of thought, nothing can be more disgusting than the character of a Thalestris. They hate, as much as we do, the vigorous females who appear to constitute the link between the sexes; and will not condescend to write the history of a virago, who is the exact duplicate of her stupid lovers, fights and drubs every one of them whose offers displease her, and bestows her hand only on him who is found to have a stronger and harder one of his own. Their heroine is in a different style. Perhaps she is not particularly distinguished even for that chastened loftiness which may consist with virgin delicacy, the loftiness of a Portia or a Corinne, of *la dame Romaine* or *la Sibylle triomphante;* perhaps she is not even an Elisabeth, innocently, and as it were unconsciously, magnanimous; but is represented as all gentleness and diffidence. Still we shall find her insensibly led through scenes which show her to possess fortitude and disinterestedness and other virtues of the first order; we shall be seduced into respect, where we were desired only to love; with the weakness that solicits protection, we shall find blended, not only all the sweetness that attracts, but much also of the dignity that ennobles it.

We are aware of the numerous exceptions to this rule; but, that it is not therefore imaginary, may appear from a reference to the Delphines and Corinnes of France—and to the Cecilias, the Ellenas, and the Belindas of England. In the same manner, the delineations of female excellence by the other sex, often present us with a figure of imperial majesty; but we cannot help thinking that, when they draw after their own notions and conceptions rather than from books, they are more likely to give us an Ophelia or a Desdemona.

Madame Cottin has, in one respect, been particularly happy. Her heroine has been educated in such solitude and unacquaint-

ance with the world, that her childlike simplicity, and engaging innocence of demeanour, seem perfectly in character, though they are the accompaniments of a heart uncommonly great and noble. There is nothing in her features hard or haughty; nothing that seems to exclaim with one of the heroines of Corneille,—

'*Je me fais des vertus dignes d'une Romaine.*'

But, indeed, the mind that conceived this character, can best do it justice; and the reader shall therefore be indulged with a trait or two of the representation.

'A deux ou trois verſtes de Saïmka, au milieu d'une forêt marécageuſe, et remplie de flaques d'eau, ſur le bord d'un lac circulaire, profond et bordé de peupliers noirs et blancs, habitoit une famille d'exilés. Elle étoit compoſée de trois perſonnes, d'un homme de quarante-cinq ans, de ſa femme et de ſa fille, belle, et dans toute la fleur de la jeuneſſe.

'Renfermée dans ce déſert, cette famille n'avoit de communication avec perſonne; le père alloit tout ſeul à la chaſſe, jamais il ne venoit à Saïmka, jamais on n'y avoit vu ni ſa femme ni ſa fille; hors une pauvre payſanne tartare qui les ſervoit, nul être au monde ne pouvoit entrer dans leur cabane. On ne connoiſſoit ni leur patrie, ni leur naiſſance, ni la cauſe de leur châtiment; le gouverneur de Tobolſk en avoit ſeul le ſecret, et ne l'avoit pas même confié au lieutenant de ſa juriſdiction établi à Saïmka. En mettant ces exilés ſous ſa ſurveillance, il lui avoit ſeulement recommandé de leur fournir un logement commode, un petit jardin, de la nourriture et des vêtements, mais d'empêcher qu'ils euſſent aucune communication au dehors, et ſurtout d'intercepter ſévèrement toutes les lettres qu'ils haſarderoient de faire paſſer à la cour de Ruſſie.' p. 5, 6.

After a very striking sketch of Siberian scenery, the writer proceeds—

'A l'eſt de cette grande plaine, une petite chapelle de bois avoit été élevée par des chrétiens; on remarquoit que de ce côté les tombeaux avoient été reſpectés, et que devant cette croix qui rappelle toutes les vertus, l'homme n'avoit point oſé profaner la cendre des morts. C'eſt dans ces landes ou ſteppes, nom qu'elles portent en Sibérie, que, durant le long et rude hier de ce climat, Pierre Springer paſſoit toutes ſes matinées à la chaſſe: il tuoit des élans qui ſe nourriſſent des jeunes feuilles du tremble et des peupliers. Il attrapoit quelquefois des martres zibelines, aſſez rares dans ce canton, et plus ſouvent des hermines qui y ſont en grand nombre: du prix de leur fourrure, il faiſoit venir de Tobolſk, des meubles commodes et agréables pour ſa femmes et des livres pour ſa fille. Les longues ſoirées étoient employées à l'inſtruction de la jeune Eliſabeth; ſouvent aſſiſe entre ſes parents, elle leur liſoit tout haut des paſſages d'hiſtoire? Springer arrêtoit ſon attention ſur tous les traits qui pouvoient élever ſon âme, et ſa mère, Phédora, ſur tous ceux qui pouvoient l'attendrir. L'un lui montroit toute la beauté de la gloire et de l'héroïſme, l'autre tout le charme des ſentiments pieux et de la bonté modeſte; ſon père lui diſoit ce que la vertu a de grand et de ſublime;

sa mère, ce qu'elle a de consolant et d'aimable ; le premier lui apprenoit comment il la faut révérer, celle-ci comment il la faut chérir. De ce concours de soins, il résulta un caractère courageux, sensible, qui, réuniſſant l'extraordinaire énergie de Springer à l'angélique douceur de Phédora, fut tout à la fois noble et fier comme tout ce qui vient de l'honneur, et tendre et dévoué comme tout ce qui vient de l'amour.' p. 9, 10.

'Elevée dans ces bois sauvages depuis l'âge de quatre ans, la jeune Elisabeth ne connoiſſoit point d'autre patrie : elle trouvoit dans celle-ci de ces beautés que la nature offre encore même dans les lieux qu'elle a le plus maltraités, et de ces plaisirs simples que les cœurs innocents goûtent partout. Elle s'amuſoit à grimper sur les rochers qui bordoient le lac, pour y prendre des œufs d'éperviers et de vautours blancs qui y font leurs nids pendant l'été. Souvent elle attrapoit des ramiers au filet et en rempliſſoit une volière ; d'autres fois elle péchoit des corrafins qui vont par bancs et dont les écailles pourprées, collées les unes contre les autres, paroiſſoient à travers les eaux du lac comme des couches de feu recouvertes d'un argent liquide. Jamais durant son heureuse enfance, il ne lui vint dans la pensée qu'il pouvoit y avoir un sort plus fortuné que le sien. Sa santé se fortifioit par le grand air, sa taille se développoit par l'exercice, et sur son visage où reposoit la paix de l'innocence, on voyoit chaque jour naître un agrément de plus. Ainsi, loin du monde et des hommes, croiſſoit en beauté cette jeune vierge pour les yeux seuls de ses parents, pour l'unique charme de leur cœur, semblable à la fleur du désert qui ne s'épanouit qu'en présence du soleil, et ne se pare pas moins de vives couleurs, quoiqu'elle ne puiſſe être vue que par l'astre à qui elle doit la vie.' p. 15, 16.

Such were the virtues formed in the depth of Siberian dreariness, as some of the sweetest flowers of spring seem to have been nursed in the bosom of winter. We may add, that with the character of the heroine, that of the composition itself corresponds; energetic, enthusiastic;—but nothing can exceed the feminine delicacy that every where shades and refines it. What, indeed, but a dress of the most vestal white would become the saintly figure of Elisabeth? Our fair author is not one who loves to excite attention by a display of the ignoble or the unholy passions. Unfortunately, these must, in a measure, enter every picture of life and manners; but it is only when they must enter, that Madame Cottin admits them. They are shown by her, but not so prominently as to mingle with those gentler and more agreeable visions that fill the sight. They come, as flying clouds, to throw a shadow over the current; not as a miry infusion to sully its clearness. From the beginning of the narrative to its close, the thoughts, the expressions, the descriptions, all are limpid purity.

To this delicacy of principle, which is virtue, the author of Elisabeth adds delicacy of hand, which is taste. Her writing has a great deal of that quality, which, when ascribed to the

countenance is called *expression.* It implies, not exactly, strong sensations strongly signified,—but nice and sensitive perceptions on every occasion, however common,—and looks that speakingly reflect them: a mind quickly seeing, and as quickly seen; a clear but artless indication of emotions, natural but not vulgar. It is certainly possible for writing to convey the idea of all this, though itmay be the production of deep deliberation. No author, however, could so write, who was not well acquainted with human nature; by which is to be understood, not what, by a very complimentary phrase, we call *knowledge of the world*—but only a vivid conception of the genuine feelings of the mind in ordinary situations. This exquisiteness of *tact*, this play of features, belong to the composition of Madame Cottin: perhaps they may fairly be considered as characteristic of the best authors of her sex. In the portraiture of deep and tragic passion, men may possibly excel women; but surely it is a fact, and no fancy, that women understand better, and pencil out more gracefully, those finer and more fugitive impressions which come under the description of *sentiment.* Even the countrymen of Rousseau are apt to recommend some of their fair writers as the best models of the sentimental style. They find in them more truth, nature, gentleness; less of exaggeration and mannerism; sensibilities less morbid, and language refined without bordering on effeminacy.

It would be a very interesting inquiry, whether this power of susceptibility in the female mind, a power made up as we have mentioned it to be, is original, or formed by circumstances?—We certainly do believe it to be in a great measure original; and yet there are many things in the situation of women, in the ground which they occupy in society, that seem to assist nature in the production of the effect described. Their conscious inferiority of personal strength must of itself dispose them to a cultivation of the finer and lovelier feelings; and this disposition is much aided by their exemption from those employments which *hackney* the minds of the other sex, and have a tendency to wear down all the minuter feelings. In consequence, too, of their domestic life, that reciprocation of social kindnesses, which is only a recreation to men, is to women in some sense a business. It is their field duty, from which household cares are their repose. Men do not seek the intercourse of society as a friend to be cultivated, but merely throw themselves on its bosom to sleep. Women, on the contrary, resort to it with recollections undistracted, and curiosity all alive. Thus, that which we enjoy and forget, keeps their attention and their feelings in constant play, and gradually matures their perceptions into instinct.

To similar causes, the softer sex owe their exquisite acquaintance with life and manners; their fine discernment of those smaller peculiarities of character which throw so much light and shade over the surface of ordinary society. Of the deeper varieties of the mind they know little; because they have not been accustomed to watch its movements when agitated by the vexing disquietudes of business, or ploughed up into frightful inequalities by the tempests of public life. It is human nature in a calm, or ruffled only into gentle undulation; it is the light restlessness of the domestic and the social passions; it is the *fire-side* character of mankind which forms their chief study, and with which, of course, they are perfectly intimate.

Consider also that class of domestic occupations which concerns the care of children. Peace be to those wretched votaries of dissipation, if indeed they can find peace, who, all selfishness, resign their offspring to fortune, apparently not as pledges, but as presents. Of these we say nothing; but, with respect to the majority of the middling classes, there can be no question that, either as mothers, or as elder sisters, the female sex are infinitely more conversant with children than the other. Trace the effects naturally produced on their minds by this sort of society—for surely it may be honoured with that appellation—What habits of quick and intelligent observation must be formed, by the employment of watching over interesting helplessness, and construing ill-explained wants! How must the perpetual contemplation of unsophisticated nature, reflect back on the dispositions of the observer a kind of simplicity and ingenuousness! What an insight into the native constitution of the human mind must it give, to inspect it in the very act of concoction! It is as if a chemist should examine

—'young diamonds in their infant dew.'

Not that mothers will be apt to indulge in delusive dreams of the perfection of human nature and human society. They see too much of the waywardness of infants to imagine them perfect. They neither find them nor think them angels, though they often call them so. But whatever is bad or good in them, they behold untrammelled and undisguised. All this must, in some degree, contribute to form those peculiarities in the female character, of which we are attempting to follow out the natural history.

The same peculiarities may, in part perhaps, be traced up to the system of European manners, which allows to women a free association with the world, while it enjoins on them the condition of an unimpeachable strictness of conduct. However loosely the fulfilment of this condition may be exacted in some countries of Europe, the system is still pretty extensively acted upon;

and it doubtless tends to produce in the sex a habit of circumspection, an alarmed sense of self-respect, and a scrupulous tenderness of that feeling, which is to conscience what decorum is to virtue. But these qualities seem to be intimately allied with delicacy of perception and of mind. In fact, in the western world, *bienséance* has become (if we may use a very hard and workman-like term), the *professional* virtue of the fair, and it is therefore that they excel in it. On the whole, if it should be asked, why women are more refined than men? it may be asked in return, why civilized men are more refined than barbarians? It is society which has polished the savage. It is the task of presiding over the society of society, the more civilized part of civilized life, which has so highly polished, and thrown so fine a finish over the women.

Is it not then wonderful to hear some men wonder, that female minds should be so quick of comprehension on common subjects, and yet so much averse to profound disquisition; so intelligent, so susceptible of impressions in familiar discourse—and yet, in politics so dull, in metaphysics so tasteless? They wonder at all this as inconsistent; but the wonder and the inconsistency would be, if the matter were otherwise. We are all adroit at that which we have practised; and these sagacious wonderers may as well consider, why many a sage, who has mines of thought and magazines of information sufficient to supply the intellectual commerce of a kingdom, should yet be miserably clumsy and stupid at the retail traffic of ordinary chit-chat; or why many a philosopher who can determine to a minute the curvature of a comet's path, should be utterly unable to curve his own person into a tolerable bow. From these, however, or any of the preceding remarks, it were strange to conclude that women are to be repelled from the severer studies, as if ignorance were the first of female qualifications. The remarks would rather justify an opposite conclusion. Providence has clearly assigned, to the one sex the forensic, to the other the domestic occupations; and before so obvious a difference of destination can be overlooked, not only must all right principles and feelings be abandoned, but the essence of things must almost be changed. Till this crisis occurs, women will be the tutelary powers of domestic and social enjoyment; and so long, if there be any truth in the foregoing reflections, they will retain their present *agrémens.* To embellish their minds, therefore, with an ampler furniture of knowledge, would only confer on them the means of decorating with additional effect their proper sphere; for the muses can never, of themselves, be at war either with the graces or with the virtues.

And yet, after all, there must be an original susceptibility in

the female mind, which no education can give, and which hardly any could entirely destroy. Suppose a country, in which all the feebler and more ricketty males should be carefully culled out, and instead of being committed to the river, as they would have been in Sparta, should be cooped up in drawing-rooms, secluded from public affairs, forbidden the gallery of the House of Commons, devoted to the household deities, and in all respects subjected to those laws of conduct, which opinion has, in this country, imposed on women. There can be no rational doubt, but that this order of beings would make a considerable approach to the female character; but surely it would prove but a sorry concern. They would turn out, it is much to be feared, a mere corporation of tailors; sad men, and worse women. Many of them would scribble novels; but which of them would prove such a novelist as Madame Cottin? Many a tolerable Baucis or Mopsa should we find among them; but which of them would resemble Elisabeth?

The mention of this last name, recals us from a digression which must have fatigued the reader; and without, therefore, inflicting on him the further detention of a tedious apology, we will abruptly hasten to the discharge of the duty immediately pressing upon us. We are fearful, however, of spoiling the story for him, were we to give a complete abridgement of it; and shall therefore prefer the method of exciting his curiosity by drawing out an analysis of the first part only.

Elisabeth, in infancy, was happy; but, as she advanced in years, her father's melancholy and her mother's tears could not escape her notice. She inquired the cause of their sorrows, and did not understand the reply, when she was told that they mourned for their country. Nothing more was revealed to her; but she became sad. She had, indeed, no griefs of her own—or rather she would have had none, if she had not regarded her parents as a dearer self. She forgot all her innocent pleasures, her birds and her flowers, and was absorbed in meditation. One single thought occupied her abroad, at home, at night, by day: but it was religiously concealed,—it filled her mind, but was not suffered to overflow.

'Oui elle vouloit partir, elle vouloit s'arracher des bras de ses parents pour aller seule à pied jusqu'à Pétersbourg, demander la grâce de son père: tel étoit le hardi dessein qu'elle avoit conçu, telle étoit la téméraire entreprise dont ne s'effrayoit point une jeune fille timide. En vain elle entrevoyoit de grands obstacles; la force de sa volonté, le courage de son cœur, et sa confiance en Dieu, la rassuroient et lui répondoient qu'elle triompheroit de tout.'

But, how execute this daring project? How perform the circuit of half Europe? How find her road without a guide? How

traverse it without a protector? These thoughts held her anxious and hesitating, till at last one avenue of hope seemed to open through the gloom of despondency. Some years before, Springer had been rescued from imminent peril during a bear-hunt, by the son of M. de Smoloff, the governor of Tobolsk, who accidentally encountered him during this dangerous sport. The name of this benefactor was ever afterwards recollected and repeated with enthusiasm in the cottage of the exiles. Elisabeth and her mother had never seen him, but they daily implored heaven to visit him with its choisest blessings. In her present difficulty, Smoloff recurred to the recollection of Elisabeth; he had never been absent from her thought or her prayer, and his idea therefore naturally mixed itself with the designs that absorbed her mind; he had saved her father, and his fancied image therefore entered into the noble visions framed by her filial piety. But how was an interview with him to be procured?

Springer one day did not return to his cottage at the hour promised. His wife and child anxiously awaited, and at length sallied out in quest of him. Elisabeth was better able to support fatigue than her mother, and therefore proceeded farther. Night was already approaching, when the report of a gun, and soon after the figure of a man behind a mass of rocks, caught her attention. 'Is it my father?' she exclaimed. A young and handsome man appeared, and seemed as much overwhelmed with surprise at the meeting, as Elisabeth was lost in disappointment.

It is easy to guess that this youth was Smoloff, and that Smoloff is to be the lover of the tale. Madame Cottin, however, has not by any means overcharged her narrative with the details of the tender passion. The celebration of filial piety was her object, and she never loses sight of it. She has contrived to make this noble species of passion so engaging in her pages, that the garnish of a more romantic feeling is hardly required. She has the art of making her heroine attractive rather by making her lovely, than loved. In truth, the reader himself is enamoured of Elisabeth, and needs not the history of any other attachment, to render her interesting in his eyes;

'Tout Paris pour Chiméne à les yeux de Rodrigue.'

From Smoloff, Elisabeth learns that her father has returned to his cottage, and rushes thither into the arms of her parents. Smoloff too, is there, for he had followed her unperceived. We cannot detail the particulars of the interesting interview that ensued; the arguments by which Springer was prevailed upon to grant his youthful guest an asylum for the night; and the respective feelings of all the parties. Elisabeth found no opportunity of disclosing to Smoloff her project, and of demanding his assistance; but

she did not despair. In the morning, Smoloff took his departure, with a declared resolution of repeating his visit. He wished to return, because he loved Elisabeth. Elisabeth wished him to return, because she loved her parents.

Few more interesting scenes can be found than that which followed;—the scene, in which Elisabeth first intimates to her father her great project, and shows him the extent of the treasure which he possessed even in a desert. But we will leave untouched what, to be justly estimated, ought to be fully displayed, and hasten onwards to the second visit of Smoloff.

One of those terrible hurricanes, which are the scourges of a Siberian winter, overtook Elisabeth in one of her walks. The author, who excels in the painting of natural scenery, gives a particularly animated description of this fine subject; but we are constrained to shorten our extract, and will begin at once with our heroine.

'Dans une matinée du mois de Janvier, Elisabeth fut surprisé par une de ces horribles tempêtes; elle étoit alors dans la grande plaine des Tombeaux, près de la petite chapelle de bois. A peine vit-elle le ciel s'obscurcir, qu'elle se réfugia dans cet asile sacré; bientôt les vents déchaînés vinrent heurter contre ce frêle édifice, et l'ébranlant jusqu'en ses fondements, menaçoient à toute heure de le renverser. Cependant Elisabeth, courbée devant l'autel, n'éprouvoit aucun effroi, et l'orage qu'elle entendoit gronder au tour d'elle atteignoit tout, hors son cœur. Sa vie pouvant être utile à ses parents, elle étoit sûre qu'à cause d'eux, Dieu veilleroit sur sa vie et qu'il ne la laisseroit pas mourir avant qu'elle les eût délivrés. Ce sentiment qu'on nommera superstitieux peut-être, mais qui n'étoit autre chose que cette voix du ciel que la piété seule sait entendre, ce sentiment, dis-je, inspiroit à Elisabeth un courage si tranquille, qu'au milieu du bouleversement des éléments et sous l'atteinte même de la foudre, elle ne put s'empêcher de ceder à la fatigue qui l'accabloit, et se couchant au pied de l'autel où elle venoit de prier, elle s'endormit paisiblement comme l'innocence dans les bras d'un père, comme la vertu sur la foi d'un Dieu.' p. 49, 50.

During her absence from the cottage, Smoloff arrived there. It was to be his last visit, for he had sworn this to his father, and Elisabeth was absent! While in anxious expectation he prolonged his stay, the storm arose, and excited in the bosoms of both of the exiles and of Smoloff, the most disquieting apprehensions respecting her fate.

"Elisabeth, que va devenir mon Elisabeth!" s'écrioit la mère désolée. Springer prit son bâton en silence, et ouvrit la porte pour aller chercher sa fille; Smoloff se précipita sur ses pas; le vent souffloit avec violence, les arbres se rompoient de tous côtés, il y alloit de la vie à traverser la forêt; Springer voulut le representer à Smoloff et l'empêcher de le suivre; il ne put y réussir: le jeune homme voyoit bien le péril, mais il le voyoit avec joie, il étoit heureux de la braver pour

Elisabeth, car c'est une si grande fortune que de trouver une occasion de montrer sa tendresse et de prouver combien on aime quand n'a pas encore osé le dire. Les voilà tous deux dans la forêt: " De quel côté irons-nous ? " demande Smoloff. " Vers la grande lande, " reprend Springer ; " c'est là où elle va tous les jours, j'espère qu'elle se sera réfugiée dans la chapelle. " Ils n'en disent pas davantage, ils ne se parlent point, leur inquiétude est pareille, ils n'ont rien à s'apprendre ; ils marchent avec la même intrépidité, s'inclinant, se baissant pour se garantir du choc des branches fracassées, de la neige que le vent chassoit dans leurs yeux, et des éclats de rochers que la tempête faisoit tourbillonner sur leurs têtes.

' En atteignant la lande, ils cessèrent d'être menacés par le déchirement des arbres de la forêt, mais sur cette plaine rase, ils étoient poussés, renversés par les raffales de vent qui souffloient avec furie ; enfin après bien des efforts, ils gagnèrent la petite chapelle de bois où ils espéroient qu'Elisabeth se seroit réfugiée, mais en apercevant de loin ce pauvre et foible abri dont les planches disjointes craquoient horriblement et sembloient prêtes à s'enfoncer, ils commencèrent à frémir de l'idée qu'elle étoit là : animé d'une ardeur extraordinaire, Smoloff dévance le père de quelques pas, il entre le premier, il voit... est-ce un songe ? il voit Elisabeth, non pas effrayée, pâle et tremblante, mais doucement endormie au pied de l'autel ; frappée d'une inexprimable surprise, il s'arrête, la montre à Springer en silence, et tous deux, par un même sentiment de respect, tombent à genoux auprès de l'ange qui dort sous la protection du ciel. Le père se penche sur le visage de son enfant, le jeune homme baisse les yeux avec modestie et se recule, comme n'osant regarder de trop près une si divine innocence. Elisabeth s'éveille, reconnoit son père, se jette dans ses bras et s'écrie : " Ah ! je le savois bien que tu veillois sur moi. " Springer la serre dans ses bras avec une sorte d'étreinte convulsive. " Malheureuse enfant, " lui dit-il, " dans quelles angoisses tu nous a jetés, ta pauvre mère et moi ! " " Mon père, pardonne moi ces larmes; " répond Elisabeth, " et allons les essuyer. " Elle se lève et voit Smoloff. " Ah ! " dit-elle avec une douce surprise, " tous mes protecteurs veilloient donc sur moi : Dieu, mon père et vous. " Le jeune homme ému, retient son cœur prêt à s'échapper. " Imprudente ! " reprend Springer, " tu parles d'aller retrouver ta mère, sais-tu seulement si le retour est possible, et si ta foiblesse résistera à la violence de la tempête, quand M. de Smoloff et moi n'y avons échappé que par miracle. " " Essayons, " répond-elle, " j'ai plus de forces que tu ne crois, je suis bien aise que tu t'en assures et que tu voies toi-même ce que je puis faire pour consoler ma mère. " En parlant ainsi, ses yeux brillent d'un si grand courage, que Springer voit bien qu'elle n'a point abandonné son projet ; elle s'appuie sur le bras de son père, elle s'appuie aussi sur celui de Smoloff ; tous deux la soutiennent, tous deux garantissent sa tête en la couvrant de leurs vastes manteaux. Ah ! c'est bien alors que Smoloff ne peut s'empêcher d'aimer ce tonnerre, ces vents épouvantables qui font chanceler Elisabeth

et l'obligent à ſe preſſer contre lui. Il ne craint point pour ſa propre vie qu'il expoſeroit mille fois pour prolonger de pareils moments; il ne craint point pour celle d'Eliſabeth, il eſt ſûr de la ſauver; dans l'exaltation qui le poſsède, il défieroit toutes les tempêtes de pouvoir l'en empêcher.' p. 53–57.

During this visit, Smoloff, in the name of his father, accorded to Phedora and her daughter, what their piety accounted a high privilege, the liberty of attending the service in the church of the neighbouring village of Saïmka. It was to Smoloff, too, a privilege, for he hoped on these occasions to meet Elisabeth. The surprise of Elisabeth at the novelties which her first attendance at this church brought before her eyes, is very well described; and the piety both of the mother and the daughter is placed in a very pleasing view. But Elisabeth had not yet revealed her project to Smoloff, and a tête-à-tête with him was absolutely necessary for the purpose. She contrived, therefore, unobserved by her mother, to appoint a meeting with him for the next day at the little chapel which had already been the witness of so sweet a scene. Smoloff, more enamoured than ever, now securely indulged the belief that Elisabeth returned his attachment. How was it possible to interpret this appointment otherwise? Could imagination have conceived a design so heroic as that which really prompted it? It was common for a youthful mind to be susceptible: but was the filial virtue of Elisabeth a common quality? One thing only perplexed him, that the open heart of Elisabeth should consent to an interview which was to be concealed from her parents; but he forgave all to what he imagined her passion. 'Ah! (exclaims the author), il ne se trompoit pas, et depuis bien des années Elisabeth en portoit une en effet dans son cœur.'

On the appointed morning, love was alert,—but filial piety was still more alert than love. Elisabeth arrived first at the rendezvous:—But we purposely tantalize the reader by here bringing *our* account to a period; if he has found it interesting, let him peruse that of Madame Cottin. The work retains its excellence to the end. The plot is extremely simple, as in so short a composition it ought to be; no strong stimulatives, no diableries; no miraculous encounters and escapes. The back ground, too, is very judiciously managed; an inferior writer might have been seduced to render too prominent the effects produced on the mind of Elisabeth by the new scenes of the south; we are inclined to think that our author has made enough of them.

The only extract we shall add, is one that can hardly suffer by being detached from the narrative. It is a passage of pure description, and affords a good specimen of the descriptive powers

frequently displayed in this work. We believe it also to have the merit of accuracy; but we have nothing with which we can compare it, excepting very general recollections.

'Pendant deux mois, Elisabeth alla chaque dimanche à Saïmka, s'attendant toujours à y trouver Smoloff. Ce fut en vain, il ne parut plus, et même elle apprit qu'il avoit quitté Tobolsk. Alors toutes ses espérances l'abandonnèrent, elle ne douta plus que Smoloff ne l'eût entièrement oubliée, et plus d'une fois elle versa sur cette pensée des larmes amères, dont la plus pure innocence n'auroit pu lui faire un reproche, car ce n'étoit pas l'amour qui les lui arrachoit. Vers la fin d'Avril, un soleil plus doux venoit de fondre les dernières neiges, les îles sablonneuses des lacs commençoient à se couvrir d'un peu de verdure, l'aubépine épanouissoit ses grosses houpes blanches, semblables à des flocons d'une neige nouvelle, et la campanule avec ses bontons d'un bleu pâle, le velar qui élève ses feuilles en forme de lance, et l'armoise cotonneuse, tapissoient le pied des buissons; des nuées de merles noirs s'abattoient par troupes sur les arbres depouillés, et interrompoient les premiers le morne silence de l'hiver; déjà sur les bords du fleuve voltigeoit ça et là le beau canard de Perse couleur de rose, avec son bec noir et sa houpe sur la tête, qui, toutes les fois qu'on le tire, jette des cris perçants, même lorsqu'on l'a manqué, et dans les roseaux des marais accouroient des bécasses de toute espèce, les unes noires avec des becs jaunes, les autres hautes en jambes, avec un collier de plume. Enfin, un printemps prématuré sembloit s'annoncer à la Sibérie, et Elisabeth pressentant toute ce qu'elle alloit perdre si elle manquoit une année si favorable pour son voyage, prenoit la résolution hardie de poursuivre son projet, et de ne compter, pour en assurer le succès, que sur elle et sur Dieu.' p. 78–80.

Mais qui en est le but? This is the cold question with which criticism usually brings up the rear of its array. To require a *moral* in an epic poem, seems now considered as high critical immorality; and the same doctrine should, in fairness, be extended to all fictitious narrative. Not that the morality of a publication is of trifling moment; but it is too much to confine a long one to the illustration of some single ethical position, reducible into a terse and emphatic sentence. The innocent objects of written composition are various; and a work of fancy is entitled to the same latitude of choice as the rest. Its author may have conceived some great and heroic character, and may be fired with the wish to personify his conception; he may have been interested by the recorded state of manners in some distant age or country, and may embody his impressions in writing; he may wish merely to spend on something tangible the redundance of his genius or his feelings, to reduce to consistence a thousand volant images

'Of love and beauty, and poetic joy
And inspiration—'

which have hovered around him at favoured moments; to fix the fleeting colours of imagination, and prolong the life of transient emotions; perhaps he may be content with the soberer purpose of diffusing useful information through an agreeable channel. The action, indeed, of his piece must be one; and it is possible that the whole of this one action may terminate in the exclusive illustration of one moral sentiment; but it is equally possible, and more likely, that it will illustrate two or twenty. These two or twenty we may indeed generalize into one; for there are no two propositions on earth, which this same art of generalisation cannot in some way compound; but where is the advantage of a compound, which must be *repulverized* before it can be turned to any account?

The *moral effect* of a work ought perhaps to be the same with its *moral*; but it is not always so; and, under correction, it forms a far more important object of inquiry. The professed moral of Pamela is 'Virtue rewarded.' Every reader, however, must admit, that the intended effect of the novel is not so much to make women virtuous for the sake of reward (though this may be one object), as to make them in love with the virtue of the heroine, and to excite in them that desire of imitating it, which would live and act, not only in the prospect of reward, but in the very face of punishment. So distinguishable is the tendency of a work from the pithy little adage which may conclude it, that nothing is more conceivable than a most immoral work with a most excellent moral. Novels of this description we have all heard of; and too many of us have read.

This sentiment, that virtue must and will be rewarded, is frequently repeated in Elisabeth; and occasionally, though in enthusiastic moments, in language unwarrantably bold. Now, we are fond of poetical justice; among other reasons, because, like every thing else in poetry, it is an improved resemblance of nature. But, indeed, though this may be the moral of Madame Cottin's story, it forms a very slight addition to its moral effect. Such excellence as that of our heroine, must equally touch and affect every impressible mind, whether it is prosperous or unfortunate, whether it illuminates a sphere of rank and fortune, or withers and dies on the banks of the Irtish. We may add, that the finely pensive remarks in the last page of the book are not exactly in unison with the sentiment before noticed. Here the author professes to speak from painful experience. The moral merit of Elisabeth consists in its general tendency; and this is, to excite the fair reader to imitate the example set forth before her of piety, resignation, filial duty, and virtuous resolution. These excellences are surely not so common, but that they may admit of a some-

what further diffusion. Neither is it necessary that, to improve by the model of a particular character, we should be placed in circumstances exactly or nearly the same, or that we should have the opportunity of exerting exactly the same qualities. There is a near alliance between goodness and goodness; and it is much to have our minds intent on the general idea of what is elevated. While multitudes around us live for little else but themselves, it is much to be told of those who can live for others. It is much that those immersed in dissipation and folly, should be made to hear of characters supposed to be formed on a higher standard; and not only to hear, but to love them; to think of them, to dream of them. Example itself is contagious, and

'A good man seen, though silent, counsel gives.'

In these views, the merits of such a novel as this are considerable. Happy if a tenth part of the lumber which is honoured with the name, could be honoured with a tenth part of the encomium.

ART. XIII. *The Carnatic Question considered. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.* 8vo. pp. 104. Evans. London, 1807.

THE late assumption of the sovereignty of the Carnatic by the general government of the East India Company, though one only of the many questionable acts by which our Asiatic empire has of late years been systematically extended, still appears to have been attended with circumstances so extraordinary, as to excite some degree of curiosity in a public at no time very careful of its Indian affairs, and now sufficiently occupied with its domestic concerns. As we highly approve of a curiosity capable of producing effects so beneficial, we take the opportunity of the little work before us to call the attention of our readers to this singular transaction. For the benefit of those who may come new to the subject, we shall premise a very short account of the country and its sovereigns.

The country which is known to Europeans by the general name of the Carnatic, extends from lat. 8′ ″, to 16′ north, along the sea coast, and embraces a depth of from one, to two hundred miles inland. It contains in all, about forty-six thousand square miles. The great body of the people are Hindoos; although they have long been subjected to the dominion of the Mahometans, in the person of their chief ruler, who is styled Nabob; and, from the chief town in the province, Nabob of Ar-

cot. There are few countries to which nature has been more favourable in point of climate; and none, certainly, in Asia, can boast of a more civilized, or ingenious race of inhabitants.

The general government of Indostan may be said to consist of an emperor, in the person of the Great Mogul, who resides at Delhi; his lieutenant-governors, or subahdars, who reign over several provinces; and the immediate governors of provinces, or nabobs. The term Nabob (or more properly Naieb), signifies a deputy. A nabob ought properly to hold his commission from Delhi; and if, at his death, a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the soubah has the right of naming a person to administer the nabobship, until the will of the sovereign is known; but a nabob thus appointed by a soubah, is not considered as finally established, until he is confirmed from Delhi. The soubah receives from the several nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the empire. The nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependence on the soubahs, as should render them subservient to the interest of the empire, and at the same time leave them in a state of independence, which would make it difficult for the soubah to make use of their assistance to brave the throne.

The constitution of the Mogul empire began to lose its vigour after the death of Aurungzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan; but since the incursion of the Persians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined more and more; so that, during the last fifty years, soubahs have been seen to maintain themselves in their governments against the will of the throne, and have consequently appointed nabobs under them, with as little regard to its authority. Nabobs, likewise, have kept possession of their governments, in opposition both to the soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a despotic state, both soubahs and nabobs have named their successors, who have often succeeded with as little opposition as if they had been heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. 'The Carnatic is one of the most considerable nabobships dependent on the soubah of the Decan.' (Orme's History, Vol. I. p. 36.)

Such was the constitution of Indostan at the period when Mr Orme wrote his excellent history; and although the lapse of nearly sixty years has rendered the sketch every day less like the original, the principle itself is still recognized. The nabobship of the Carnatic has been vested in the present family for more than half a century. Aneiar ul Deen, the great-grandfather of the pre-

sent nabob, having been appointed to that dignity by Nizam ul Mulck, in the year 1744, he was succeeded by his son Mahomed Ally, whose attachment to our interests in the various vicissitudes of our fortune, during our long and hazardous wars with the French, laid the first foundations of our empire in the East. After a regular appointment from the Mogul, he was ultimately acknowledged as nabob of the Carnatic by the French, in the treaty of Paris. Since that period, our after-wars with the French, and our long contests with Hyder and his son Tippoo, gave him fresh occasions of showing such an adherence and fidelity to our cause, as is but rarely witnessed in the history of nations.

The Nabob of the Carnatic, at the period of our early connexion with his family, maintained such an establishment of troops, and a general arrangement of state and dignity, as forms a striking contrast with his present fallen condition. He had at one time in his service an army of twenty regiments of infantry, seven of cavalry, with a due proportion of artillery, all commanded and disciplined by European officers. To possess a place in the Nabob's favour, or in that of his sons, was, in those days, one of the fairest roads to fortune; and his countenance was accordingly courted by the ambitious and aspiring, who had either the talents to be useful, or the address to insinuate themselves into his favour. Nor was his influence confined to the seat of his own government; it extended to Europe; and, if report may be credited, he could at one time have reckoned on the votes of several members in a certain eminent assembly, who, if not his legal representatives, owed their seats to his patronage. Men of the first abilities and connexion, were retained in London, at no mean expense, to forward his interests and defend his cause; nor was there wanting to his dignity as ally of the British nation, any circumstance of ceremony and court etiquette, which might raise that relation in his own eyes, or in that of the neighbouring states. His rights were guaranteed in our alliances with European nations; men of high rank claimed the title of the King's representative at his *Durbar*; and his independency as a sovereign prince, was recognized by a solemn decree of the Court of Chancery. *

* In a bill which was brought by the agents of the old Nabob of Arcot, Wallajah, in Chancery, against the English East India Company, in 1791, he was declared by the latter, and recognized by the Court, to be a sovereign prince; and the case was accordingly rejected by the Lord Chancellor, as being the subject of a public treaty betwixt the parties, and, as such, not a matter of municipal jurisdiction. See Vesey junior's Reports, Vol. I. p. 371, and Vol. II. p. 56, 60.

These great and eminent advantages of fortune, carried too commanding an influence not to make his situation an object of jealousy to other powers, who saw, or thought they saw, in his advancement, the foundation of their own downfal. To what extent these suppositions were well founded, is no object of the present inquiry. Nations, like individuals, may pursue the dictates of their own interest to any extent short of actual injury to others. The public law, like the municipal, has its fixed boundaries of right and wrong, up to which, it is wisdom for the party to forward his advancement, and beyond which it is criminal to trespass on the claims of others.

The military establishment of the Nabob was always too great for his revenue, and by various treaties or agreements with our government, his forces were gradually discharged or taken into our service:—an arrangement, it was supposed, beneficial for both parties, as the discipline and attachment of the troops was better maintained from their being in our regular army; and the Nabob, being secure of our constant protection, had nothing to apprehend from any foreign enemy;—least of all, no doubt, from his friends the English, whose interests were now so interwoven with his as to be considered as inseparable. The Nabob gave up his army to us, with the greater portion of his revenues to pay them, and we had only to secure him in the enjoyment of what was left. The general outlines of our relation were as follows. All the large forts in the Carnatic were to be garrisoned by our troops,—the revenues were to be collected, and the general civil government administered by the Nabob's officers. To add, however, to the promptitude of our resources in time of war, the civil government was, in all its branches, revenue as well as others, to be assumed by the Company, and administered by their civil servants. The general amount of the gross revenue of the Carnatic, may be estimated at about twenty-six lacs of pagodas; * the expenses of the collection may be eight lacs. The Nabob paid to us the sum of nine lacs, as his share of the expense of the military force, and also the further sum of six lacs in liquidation of certain debts. When these deductions are made, there will be found to have been no great surplus left for the maintenance of eastern state and dignity.

On the capture of Seringapatam, certain letters were said to have been found amongst the archives of the late Tippoo Sultan,

* Lord Macartney, in a letter to the Court of Directors, written in the year 1781, speculating on what might be the result of a wise management of the Nabob's countries, rates the revenues, as in times of peace, at twelve hundred thousand pounds a year.

expressive of treasonable sentiments on the part of the Nabob against our government. The circumstances under which these letters were found—how far they were connected with other correspondence betwixt the same parties—or by whom discovered and selected, are points which have never yet been explained to the public. They form in all twenty-one numbers. Of these, however, entire translations have not been given,—extracts only have been translated of some of them; though no reason has been assigned (and it would be difficult perhaps to assign a good one), why particular parts have been thus selected. The fort of Seringapatam was captured on the 4th of May 1799; and an eager examination of papers of the Sultan, is said to have been amongst the first acts of the general's staff after the fall of the place. No indication of any discovery of this sort, however, was made, until the month of April 1800.

One would naturally suppose, that some imperious necessity must have impelled the Governor-General to a measure of such severity, as the assumption of the country of one of our most antient allies; nothing less, it may be supposed, than the very existence of our empire in India being at stake, from the conduct of the Nabob, could have led to the act. What then must our surprise be, when we come to know, that the assumption of the Carnatic had been *previously* resolved upon by his Lordship, on other and distinct grounds of policy, and that the charge of a treasonable correspondence was a new thought, which appears to have suggested itself to his mind, only ten days after he had given orders to Lord Clive, in the event of the death of the Nabob, to deprive his son of the civil and military administration of his principality? (See *Letter from Governor-General to Lord Clive, 26. March* 1800, Vol. I. 59.)

On this supposed discovery being first made public, the greatest surprise is said to have been indicated by every one in India. The long and rooted aversion which was known to subsist between Tippoo Sultan and the family of the Nabob, as well as the interests of the latter, all militated against the supposition of his ever meditating any such alliance or connexion. It appeared to every one very unlikely, that the Nabob should ever place any reliance on his antient and hereditary foe. Mussulmans, it was observed, are no strangers to the political character of their sect, and are therefore backward in placing any reliance on one another; nor do men commit treason, more than any other crime, without reasonable prospects of gain. If ever there was a cruel and perfidious Mussulman, it was the late Tippoo Sultan; and no gain could possibly accrue to the Nabob by expelling the English, whilst the Sultan

was alive, as he must have been certain of ultimately falling a victim to his ambition.

Under these impressions, the truth of the charge is said to have been much questioned by all intelligent persons; it may be proper therefore to examine the evidence with some minuteness. We may premise one or two general remarks. The Governor-General makes his accusation against the Nabob under two heads of charge. He maintains, *First*, that it was a breach of his treaty *to correspond at all* with any foreign power, otherwise than through the medium of the Company: And, *Secondly*, that the correspondence itself was of a treasonable nature.

In reply to the first, it is only necessary to refer to the article in the treaty, which is as follows—'And the said Nabob agrees that he will not enter into any *negociation or political correspondence* with any European or Native power, without the consent of the said Company.' (10th Art. Lord Cornwallis's Treaty, 12. July 1792.) If the correspondence, therefore, turn out to be purely private and complimentary, it is evident that there is no ground for the first accusation, and the whole case will depend on the justice of the second.

From the great consequence that has been attached to this supposed discovery, one would be led to believe that some intended massacre, or some overt act of violence or treachery had been discovered, which it was necessary to ward off by prompt and vigorous measures of retaliation. What then will the surprize of the public be, when they are told, that there is not an expression capable of bearing such an interpretation in any part of the correspondence; nay, that there is not even a single letter from the Nabob or his son to Tippoo Sultan in the whole collection, and but two from the Sultan, one to the old Nabob, and the other to Omdut ul Omrah, his son, written at the time his children were hostages at Madras; a circumstance which naturally led the Sultan to thank the Nabob for his attention to them? In all probability, too, these two letters were, agreeably to the Nabob's custom, reported to Government, though it does not appear that any search has been made at the India House to ascertain this: it is an undoubted fact, that different letters were afterwards (November 1792), sent by the Sultan to the Nabob, containing much stronger expressions of friendship, than any contained in the two now alluded to, all of which were reported regularly, and laid before Government. This important circumstance, however, does not appear in any of the proceedings of the Commissioners; who, on the contrary, allude to an after correspondence of a hidden and secret nature; and thereby create

a most unwarrantable suspicion against the whole transaction. Now, if letters of a stronger tendency were communicated to Government, there could be no reason, surely, for concealing these, if they really were concealed. One part of a man's conduct is to be judged of by another; and we presume upon what we do not know distinctly, from that which is clearly seen.

The old Nabob was at this time a man of nearly eighty years of age; of a temper singularly prudent and cautious:—was it likely then that he should enter into plans of hazard and ambition!

'No! timid counsels wait on hoary hairs,
And the last dregs of life are sordid cares.'

The Sultan and the Nabob were indeed followers of the same religion; but whatever the former might have been, the latter was certainly no bigot in that way. But this point we shall have occasion to touch upon in another part of the discussion.

The government in India first assume, as a leading point, that the Nabob intended to connect himself with Tippoo; and they then find the proof of all his acts in that intention. But they assume that as granted, which ought to have been proved.—Where are the letters, or messages, or witnesses, or evidence of any kind?

The case is introduced to the notice of the Governor of Madras in a letter from the Governor-General, accompanied by a very long report from the Persian translator, in which he is at great pains to prove the Nabob guilty. Every thing that can make against him is aggravated in the extreme;—every thing that can make for him is reduced and explained away;—and constructions so extravagant and distorted are resorted to, that the gentlemen, in an after report, are obliged to acknowledge their error. No counsel, pleading in the most desperate case, ever tortured his ingenuity so obstinately;—no counsel, who knew the limits of his duty, would ever have tortured it in such a cause. But why was so much labour bestowed to prove the guilt of the Nabob, if it was clearly established by the evidence? If the crime was so apparent as to exclude all exculpatory proof on the part of the Nabob, why were so many words wasted in exposing it? Was the Governor-General so slow, as not to comprehend all this, without the arguments of his Persian translator? Was the text so obscure, that so ample a commentary was necessary? There cannot, perhaps, be a clearer proof of the insufficiency of the evidence, than the extreme anxiety which is manifested to make it appear conclusive. Had the letters obviously or naturally borne a treasonable sense, the simple recital of them would have been sufficient. Agreeably to our own law, and to the law of natural

justice, some overt act of treason must be proved by clear and competent evidence, before the meanest subject can suffer from it. ' No man is to be reasoned out of his life and fortune by subtle analogy, and rhetorical aggravations, enhancing misdemeanours into treason. If one might suppose state treasons revived and founded, as they were antiently, on intemperate words, misdemeanours and dubious offences, who would engage in public business, that values repose, had wealth to forfeit, and dignities to aggravate his fall? ' *(Law of Forfeiture.)*

As the report of the Persian translator appears to have made a strong impression upon the mind of the Governor-General, it may be proper to examine it with some attention. It begins by stating, that

' Among the records of the late Tippoo Sultan's government, discovered in the palace at Seringapatam, has been found a very voluminous correspondence between the Sultan and his Vakeels Goolam Ally Khan and Ally Reza Khan, who accompanied the hostages delivered by Tippoo Sultan, at the termination of the war 1792, to Madras: from this correspondence, a number of papers have been *selected*, of which the tendency to fix a charge upon his late Highness the Nabob Wallajah, of a breach of the alliance subsisting between his Highness and the Honourable Company, implicate the present Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as a party therein, and to establish a similar charge against the latter, after his accession to the Musnud. From the contents of these papers, the following facts may be collected.

' 1*st*, That the late Nabob Wallajah maintained a secret intercourse and correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, through the medium of the deputies Goolam Ally Khan, and Ally Reza Khan, above mentioned, for the purpose of forming a connexion with Tippoo Sultan, subversive of the alliance subsisting between his Highness and the Honourable Company, and directly adverse to the British interest in India.

' 2*dly*, That the Nabob established such connexion, and proceeded to act under it, by communicating certain articles of intelligence, of a nature calculated to betray the interests of the Honourable Company, and to favour the sinister designs of Tippoo Sultan against them.

' 3*dly*, That the present Nabob of the Carnatic, Omdut ul Omrah, was a principal channel of communication between his father and the Vakeels, for maintaining the secret intercourse before mentioned; that he cordially united, both on his father's account and on his own, in promoting the objects of it. And,

' 4*thly*, That the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, after his accession to the Musnud, continued to maintain a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultan, in the same spirit which he manifested in his intercourse with the Vakeels of the Prince, during the lifetime of his father. '

These are the charges: let us see how the proof is made out. The Report goes on to say—

'The first indication of the Nabob Wallajah's disposition to connect himself with Tippoo Sultan, by the ties of political interest, appears in a letter, dated in June 1792, from the Vakeels Goolam Ally Khan, and Ally Reza Khan, to Tippoo Sultan; in which they give an account of what passed between the Nabob, the Princes and themselves, at an interview which took place soon after their arrival at Madras. After the warmest expressions of attachment to Tippoo Sultan, the Nabob is represented to have reprobated the preceding war, as having been undertaken, by the allied powers, for the subversion of the Mahometan religion. He is represented to have stated, that "he used," (pending the war), "night and day to pray for the Sultan's prosperity, because the confederacy of the three allies was sent for the subversion of the Mahometan religion. It is obvious," continues the Report, "from these expressions, that, from the very commencement of the war between the allies and Tippoo Sultan, the Nabob Wallajah wished success to the arms of Tippoo Sultan against the powers with which he was connected by the most solemn obligations of unity and alliance; and that, by entertaining sentiments so inimical to its interest, he violated the fundamental principles of all that alliance. This preestablished fact gives additional force to the open declaration which the Nabob subsequently made." &c. &c.

This quotation from the Report has been given at large, because it affords a curious specimen of the manner in which the inquiry has been conducted, and of the disposition which evidently existed to find the Nabob guilty. He who is hastily judged (says the antient adage) seems to have been willingly condemned. It is to be observed, that the expressions here imputed to the Nabob, were used at *the first* meeting betwixt the hostages and the Nabob, and in the presence of Sir Charles Oakley, Lord Cornwallis, his interpreter, and perhaps fifty other persons, assembled in full Durbar, for the purpose of witnessing so interesting a spectacle. On such an occasion, what could be expected but the language of ceremony and compliment? Men do not speak treason in public; and, whoever is versant in the phraseology of Eastern compliment, will be at no loss to find parallels to the expressions which are said to have been employed. Any other supposition, indeed, seems to be excluded by every one circumstance of the situation. In the first place, the aversion of the Nabob to the family of Tippoo Sultan, was rooted and notorious; and, in the second place, it was sufficiently known, that the subversion of the Mahometan religion formed no part of that confederacy; nor was any Mahometan bigotted enough to suppose so. Yet upon this casual and complimentary phrase, which the Nabob may or may not have used, the Persian translator gravely builds a charge of

treason. 'This preestablished fact,' he says, 'must give credence to subsequent declarations!' After an assertion so perfectly extravagant, it is surely necessary to weigh, with peculiar caution, every subsequent deduction which proceeds from the same quarter. Without stopping, at present, to consider the competency of a charge of *treason* against *a sovereign prince*, we shall run shortly over the objections which we think may be stated to the decision which has been pronounced and carried into execution. They may be arranged under the following heads. 1st, The gross irregularity of the whole proceedings. 2d, The defects of the evidence, and the inaccuracy of the reports of it, on which judgment was ultimately given. And, 3dly, The palpable injustice and impolicy of the measures which were finally adopted.

I. With regard to the irregularity and vices of the proceedings, we may observe, in the *first* place, that the inquiry was instituted under authority of a letter from Lord Wellesley, addressed to Lord Clive *individually*, without the conjunction, or intended conjunction, of his council; from whom it appears it was resolved to keep the matter secret. And the further orders for the investigation are accordingly issued in the same manner by Lord Clive at Madras, without the apparent knowledge of any person besides that of the two individuals who were ordered to conduct the inquiry. The act of Parliament for the constitution of our Indian governments, has no doubt given large powers to the governors of each of the settlements; and authorized them, in cases of a political nature, to do certain acts on their own discretion, independently of their Council. But then, these acts are all directed to be done in the presence of the Council regularly assembled, and under certain prescribed forms, none of which have been observed in the present instance. The apology for all this is the necessity of secrecy. This, no doubt, may be sometimes desirable; but there is such a thing as being too secret; and if the consequences of an unwarranted privacy are, in this case, to destroy the whole evidence of the circumstances under which the most important measures were adopted, it is evidently altogether impossible to listen to such an apology. The Council of Madras were unfit for their stations, if they were supposed capable of divulging any part of the proceedings.

In the *second* place, we must observe, the Nabob was never heard in his defence, nor were any witnesses examined in his behalf. When a person is charged with the commission of a crime, it is agreeable to every rule of natural justice, that he should be furnished with a copy of the charge against him, and be heard in

his defence. But the Nabob died, it is said, before he could have been tried. In that case, his crimes should have died with him; and not been visited upon the heads of the children and grandchildren to the third generation. But the fact is, the Nabob did not die until the government had been for *two years* in possesion of the grounds of the accusations.

In the *third* place, the most important and indispensable of all the witnesses was not examined at all. Though the Nabob was dead, Khauder Newaz Khan was alive, and at Madras. Why was not this man examined? It was he who is said to have written the treasonable letters. If believed innocent, why was not he heard? If supposed guilty, why was not he condemned? He was certainly in one of these predicaments; and, in either case, his conduct should have been inquired into. The whole charge, indeed, rests ultimately on the evidence of this person, as he is said to have been the bearer of all the objectionable messages from the Nabob to the Vakeels. The other proofs go only to establish what it was that was so communicated; and, failing this, they all fall to the ground. If Khauder Newaz Khan denies that he was charged with such messages from the Nabob, there is an end of the question. A proof that wants the support of another, ought not to pass for one. It would be just as reasonable, and more expeditious, to suppose the proposition itself to be true which you wish to prove, as to suppose the existence of another, without which its truth can never be established.

The witness himself was of all others the most accessible. He was living within a few doors of Lord Clive's house at Madras; whilst the others were brought from an opposite and distant part of the country. There is no case that may not be made out this way, if only one half the proof is to be heard, and the other taken for granted. All the circumstances which are stated with regard to this man, seem to have made it more necessary to begin with his examination. 'He was not very opulent,' it seems, 'and desirous of rendering his instrumentality in establishing the friendship and cordiality (betwixt the Nabob and Tippoo) useful to himself, by obtaining a present from the Sultan.' This, at least, is Goolam Ally's account of him; and it evidently suggests a key to the whole of the other evidence, perfectly consistent with the innocence of the Nabob. The only apology we have met with for this extraordinary neglect is, that as Khauder Newaz Khan, and the other guardians of the young Nabob, uniformly declared their total ignorance of any treasonable correspondence between their master and the Sultan, so it would have been in vain to have examined them as to the particulars of it; and that

the Nabob, at all events, could derive no benefit from their testimony, as they must have professed mere ignorance of what the other witnesses had sworn to. A more extraordinary plea, we believe, was never set up at the Old-Bailey. If there was in reality no treasonable correspondence, it certainly follows, that the guardians of the Nabob could not explain the particulars; but if a *false* story had been told by the other witnesses, would not their testimony be invalidated by the opposite statement of those who must have been privy to it, if it had been true? *Nemo inveniet falsa.* No man can, by anticipation, contradict the particulars of a fabricated accusation; but when he is interrogated after the first witnesses, he may depose to facts utterly subversive of their testimony, and make the innocence of the accused indubitable. According to any other view of the matter, the guilty alone can bring witnesses to their defence, and the innocent must be convicted.

The same observation applies to a variety of other persons, who are evidently pointed out as necessary witnesses, from the very details of the accusation; and yet no one of them is brought forward or examined by the commissioners. This alone should set aside and discredit their report. Where an essential witness is withheld, the law will presume that he would have gone against the party who had it in his power to examine him, and will reject any inferior proof that is offered in such circumstances. These rules of evidence are the plain dictates of reason matured by experience, and have nothing arbitrary or technical in their conception. They are not just, because they are rules of law; but they are rules of law, because they are just. Their application, therefore, is universal; and their authority as indisputable at Madras, as at Westminster. *

II. Such was the *exterior* of this proceeding, by which we confiscated the kingdom of the oldest and most faithful ally of our Eastern empire; and by which we deposed a Sovereign Prince on a charge of high treason, with infinitely less ceremony or regularity of proceeding, than would be requisite in sentencing a black drummer to receive fifty lashes by authority of a regimental court-martial. We shall now look a little into the substantial justice of the decision.

One of the principal grounds for suspecting the Nabob's guilt, was an alleged discovery of a secret and treasonable intercourse between him and the Sultan of the Mahrattas, so long ago as

* Et si quem nos interrogare nolumus, quæ causa nobis tacendi fuerit, existimare debetis. (Cic. pro Fontego.)

the year 1773; and which, it was said, there was reason to think he had maintained ever after. The documents on which this charge was made, were the following.

Amongst the records of Seringapatam, there was found a letter from one of Hyder Ally's servants, then at Madras, (Mahomed Osman), written to that Prince in the year 1773, giving an account of an interview which he had had with the Nabob, and setting forth the friendly sentiments which he had, on that occasion, professed for his master.

This letter having been sent to Calcutta, and put into the hands of the Persian translator, this ingenious person immediately finds in it a rich mine of treason.

It discovers 'a scene of political intrigue between him (Hyder) and the Nabob, particularly illustrative of the views of the latter, and furnishing a clue to his conduct in the transactions which took place between him and the British Government, not only at that period, but during the whole course of his connexion with the British power.'

After a few other remarks of the same kind, he goes on to say, 'The circumstances, however, the most important, which are disclosed by the documents adverted to, is the intimate connexion which he (the Nabob) appears to have formed with Hyder Ally, at a time when he was supposed, by the British Government, to entertain the most inveterate animosities against him.'—'It is remarkable (he continues) that the expressions alluded to (in this letter), are, in substance, almost the same that he the Nabob is stated to have made use of to Tippoo's Vakeels in 1792–3. And, finally, (he adds) may not this preestablished disposition of the Nabob, by a parity of argument, be supposed to have adhered to him to so late a period as the war which terminated in 1792; and to afford additional credit to the charges exhibited against him, consistently with every rule of reasoning upon the principles and passions of the human mind? These queries can only be answered in the affirmative.'

Thus far the Persian translator. The Governor-General sends round the letter of Mahomed Osman to Madras, as a 'curious document, tending to illustrate the character and views of the Nabob.' In its after progress, it is forwarded to England, and laid before the authorities here, as one of the proofs of a treasonable conspiracy. No argument or explanation being opposed to it, the Nabob is naturally condemned, and his country forfeited. The reader will now attend to the sequel. Two years afterwards, the Carnatic question is brought before Parliament; and papers being moved for, it now comes out, from a search amongst the old records of the Madras government, that the correspondence in question was carried on in the year 1773, betwixt Hyder and the old Nabob, *with the full knowledge, and at the particular desire, of the Madras government*, who considered it for the interest of the

Carnatic that a good understanding should subsist betwixt these two powers. (*Vide* papers laid before Parliament by an order of the House of Commons, 16th December 1802, vol. viii. p. 256, &c.)

Such has been the result of the very limited and imperfect inquiry which has hitherto been made into the grounds of a sentence which was carried into effect against a sovereign and his country, before any opportunity of investigation had been afforded. The testimony of the most important witnesses appears to have been withheld altogether, and the import of part of the written evidence to have been totally misapprehended. Let us now see in how far these defects have been compensated by the accuracy of the statements furnished to the ultimate judges in this country, by those who directed and conducted the inquiry.

One of the very few direct charges against the Nabob, in the Report of the commissioners, is, that a treasonable discourse of Ally Rezza had been reported to him, and that he made no communication on the subject to the government. An acknowledgement to this effect, they say, was made by Ally Rezza on his examination. Our readers will probably be surprised to learn, that nothing of the kind appears in any part of his deposition. The matter stands thus on the record. In the third paragraph of the report of the commissioners it is stated,

'That Ally Rezza acknowledges the intention of his exhortation at the Jummah mosque in Madras, was, to have detached the Mussulmans from their allegiance to the Company; but that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah was not present at this ceremony. The younger sons of the Nabob Wallajah did, however, attend the mosque on that occasion; and Ally Rezza understood that the Cauzy had made a report on the subject to the Nabob Wallajah himself.'

Now this, our readers will observe, is a Report upon evidence; and by referring to the evidence, it appears that it gives not the least authority for saying, that the Cauzy had made a report on the subject to the Nabob. Throughout the whole of Ally Rezza's deposition, there is not one word that can bear such a meaning.

An error like this, we conceive, discredits and vitiates the whole proceedings. The commissioners were appointed to take the depositions of witnesses, and to transmit them, with an account of their import, to the governor. In the report which accompanies the evidence, and professes to be founded on it throughout, an assertion (in their minds) of the utmost importance, is imputed to one of the witnesses; but when his deposition is looked into, it is found to contain nothing in the least like that assertion. Here, therefore, in the first place, is a charge made without the least

appearance of evidence; and, in the second place, a gross and very suspicious contradiction on the face of the proceedings. The commissioners report, that a witness, whose deposition is engrossed, has said something, which the deposition itself proves he has not said. It is altogether impossible to justify or apologize for such shameful irregularity on an occasion of such importance;—nor will any one venture to contend, that the mere assertion of the commissioners, that such evidence was given, can ever be received, when the record of the whole evidence is produced, and demonstrates the contrary.

From the manner in which this most imperfect inquiry was conducted, we have no other information with regard to it than what is contained in the report of the two individuals selected for making the investigation. If they were guilty of any error or partiality, it can scarcely be expected that they should record it; and yet, from the tenor of their own report, it appears to us to be manifest, that they are chargeable with gross irregularities and omissions, by which the cause of the Nabob may have been incalculably injured. From that report it appears that several important witnesses were examined, whose depositions they have not recorded; that several were not put on oath; and that, throughout the examination, they asked leading questions, and did not scruple to threaten the witnesses with the displeasure of the Government.

The Commissioners say, that they examined Goolam Ally Meer Suddoor, the Dewan Purneah, and the Moonshy Hubbeeb Olla; 'but, as their testimony did not establish any fact, they thought it unnecessary to record it.' It might have been unnecessary for the purpose of convicting the Nabob, and yet very essential for establishing his innocency. Their very ignorance of particular facts, might have been a strong proof that they did not exist.

They are ready, they next observe, to swear to the accuracy of the translation. But what does this import, when they neglect to administer an oath to the witnesses themselves? To swear that a witness deposed so and so, when the witness himself was not on oath, cannot supply that omission. Considering the importance of the inquiry, and the delicacy of the subject altogether, all the witnesses certainly ought to have been examined on oath. The difficulty of ascertaining the truth from Indian witnesses, under any circumstances, is known to every one; but without an appeal to their religion, it is never expected.

It would be endless to specify the leading questions which are asked throughout the whole inquiry. The menaces that are resorted to, are equally abundant. Goolam Ally, for instance, is told, that 'the inconsistencies and absurdities of his explana-

tion have established a belief that he is endeavouring to conceal the true meaning, which it remains for him either to remove, or to be answerable on his responsibility to the Company.' And, indeed, the threat of displeasure is repeatedly held out to both witnesses during the inquiry.

It might, no doubt, be proper to warn the witness, at the commencement of his general evidence, of the penalties to be incurred from perjury; but it certainly was highly improper to connect that warning with the answers he had given to any particular question; as the effect of it must naturally be, to give a bias to his further examination on that point.—*Quid est, quæso,* says Cicero, *judicium corrumpere si hoc non est? Testes, præsertim timidos homines et afflictos, non solum auctoritate deterrere, sed etiam consulari metu, et prætorum potestate?* (Cic. in Ver. Act. Prim. 10.)

These little specimens may suffice to show, with what degree of caution and accuracy the business was conducted by the Commissioners. We are concerned to say, that the proceedings of the Governor-General appear to have been at least equally objectionable, and that there is evidence to establish that the ultimate decision of the Court of Directors, was influenced in a great degree by certain assertions made rashly, and, as it appears, without any evidence, by that illustrious person. The gross injustice of dethroning the grandson for the antiquated delinquencies of the grandfather, would probably have held the hands of our Indian avengers, if his immediate predecessor had not been himself involved in the same accusations, and charged in particular with having maintained a treasonable correspondence with Tippoo Sultan *after his father's decease.* Lord Wellesley, in his letter to the Secret Committee, of 9. June 1800, declares that he is satisfied of the truth of this charge; and the Committee, without seeing any evidence in support of it, approve of the assumption of his dominions, on the strength of this asseveration. We apprehend it to be quite clear, that the asseveration was made without any sort of evidence, and, we will be permitted to add, contrary to all probability.

The old Nabob died in 1795; and the Sultan, agreeable to the custom of the country, sent, by two Vakeels, a message of ceremony and condolence. These Vakeels were entrusted with no message beyond this; and were persons (as the Commissioners themselves say) of too mean a rank to have been so entrusted. Their arrival was regularly reported by the Nabob to the Governor, and copies of the correspondence even sent by the Nabob to the then Governor and Governor-General. Such are the whole of the admitted facts, as to the *only* communication which is proved to have taken place between the Sultan and the young Nabob, after the death of his father. The

letter of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, is as follows.

'My deſpatch in Council to your Honourable Committee, dated the 23d of April laſt, will have brought under your view, various important documents relative to a perfidious and dangerous correſpondence which ſubſiſted betwixt Tippoo Sultan, and the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah. The propoſed examination announced in that deſpatch has ſince taken place, but not to the extent, or exactly in the manner I deſired. It was found that ſome perſons propoſed to be examined were dead, or placed beyond the immediate reach of the Commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding the inſufficiency of the examination, and the groſs prevarication and manifeſt falſehoods of ſome of thoſe examined, evidence has appeared to ſatisfy my judgement, that an intrigue, of a nature hoſtile to the Britiſh intereſts, had been carried on between Tippoo Sultan, Wallajah, and Omdut ul Omrah. It is alſo incontrovertibly eſtabliſhed, that Omdut ul Omrah employed, or framed with a view to employ, in his correſpondence with the late Tippoo Sultan, the cypher, a copy of which has been already tranſmitted to your Honourable Committee. *It appears that Omdut ul Omrah carried on such a correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, subsequently to the death of the Nabob Wallajah.*'

The Commissioners again in their Report say, (p. 23.)

'The two vakeels, Goolam Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan appear to have fallen under the diſpleaſure of Tippoo Sultan in a ſhort time after their return from Madras, and never to have been readmitted to his confidence. We have therefore been unable to trace, through their means, the progreſs of the ſecret communications of Omdut ul Omrah; but *there is no reason to believe they were not revived* after the confinement of Goolam Ally Khan!'

This, it will be observed, is considerably weaker than the assertion in the close of Lord Wellesley's letter. But, with submission to both these authorities, it appears to us to be quite manifest, that they proceed equally on a perversion of the rules of evidence; and that it is a little unjust, as well as absolutely illegal, to condemn a person *who is not allowed to prove his innocence*, merely because his accusers see 'no reason to believe that he was not guilty!' This statement alone demonstrates, that there is no shadow of evidence to support this charge against the young Nabob: but we humbly conceive, that when the matter is fully considered, it will be found to have been made against evidence.

A letter (No. 20.) appears to have been addressed by Omdut ul Omrah to Goolam Ally, subsequent to the death of the old Nabob. This letter is admitted to contain nothing material; and it is accounted for in this way. On the return of Ally Rezza and Goolam Ally to Seringapatam, they were forbid the presence by the Sultan, and confined to their own houses. The

reason of this was (as report says), a suspicion on the part of the Sultan, that they were carrying on some intrigue at Madras prejudicial to his interests, with the Nabob; and in order to discover the extent of it, Tippoo addressed a letter to the Omdut, in the name of Goolam Ally, and signed with his seal. The letter in answer, is the one alluded to. But this, surely, cannot be said to have been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Omdut. On the contrary, it affords the strongest evidence that no such correspondence existed. It evinces that the Sultan placed no reliance on the dispositions of the Nabob towards him. And this observation is justified by the declarations of Purneah and another witness, who had the best opportunities of knowing, that 'no affair of moment had been agitated between Tippoo Sultan and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, since the release of the hostages; and they invariably concur in ascribing to Tippoo Sultan a rooted contempt and distrust of Omdut ul Omrah, and his whole family.' (Com. Rep. p. 30.) Nay, the commissioners themselves affirm, that they are satisfied, from the concurrent testimony of the witnesses last alluded to, that the embassy was merely a matter of form on the death of the Nabob Wallajah.

Thus, then, stands the fact as to a secret correspondence having taken place betwixt the Omdut and Tippoo, after the death of Wallajah. No letters can be traced; the only persons ever sent to Madras were not likely to have been entrusted with a secret negotiation. The principal servants of Tippoo agree that no negotiation took place; and they ascribe to their master sentiments inconsistent with any thing of the kind. How then can the Governor-General's assertion be supported, that such a correspondence was actually carried on? There is certainly no evidence for it whatever; and every presumption is against it.

The Governor-General's report, however, it may be easily supposed, was likely to make a very strong impression on the authorities at home. In the vast mass of papers sent from India, every article cannot be minutely examined. It would be endless to discuss over again every thing that had been investigated in India; and therefore, the authorities in Europe must suppose that their servants abroad will do that which it is their duty to do.

To what extent this principle was acted upon on the present momentous occasion, will appear from the letter of the Secret Committee of 4th December 1800, in answer to the despatch already recited from Lord Wellesley. After repeating, almost literally the substance of that despatch, the Committee goes on—

'Of the degree of criminality on the part of Omdut ul Omrah, substantiated by the late examination, we are unable to judge; the examination not having been yet transmitted to us. *But, as the Go-*

vernor-General has declared himself satisfied by the oral evidence which has been collected respecting Omdut ul Omrah, that a due regard for the Company's safety renders it indispensably necessary that some more certain pledges of his fidelity should be obtained than we now possess, *we have no hesitation in expressing our entire approbation of his Lordship's intention* to demand from the Nabob the additional security required; of the nature of which, and of the subsequent arrangements, we feel no small degree of solicitude to be advised. The proceedings which have hitherto been reported to us upon this important subject, we entirely approve.'

Here then, we find, that the Nabob was ultimately condemned by the government at home, upon a report of the Governor-General, in which report, one of the leading and main facts was without a shadow of evidence to support it, and in contradiction to every presumption, and every principle of probability.

III. We should now make a few remarks on the palpable injustice and impolicy of punishing the son for the alleged delinquencies of a father who died before being convicted of any offence. The right to punish a foreign sovereign for treasonable practices (if such they can be called), cannot certainly be quite so strong as our right to punish one of our own subjects for the same crime. But even by our own law, when the accused has paid the great debt of nature before conviction, his responsibility to the parent state is supposed to have terminated also; nor are the children required to pay the sufferance of forfeiture for their father's delinquency. 'Nor is it of small advantage to the heir, that the death of the ancestor, before conviction, discharges all proceedings and forfeitures. He can then be attainted only by act of Parliament.' (Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture, p. 97.)

Even by the law of England, therefore, such a forfeiture would have been unwarrantable; but no absurdity can possibly be greater than to judge of this case by such principles. Our law of forfeiture arose out of our domestic habits and manners. The attachment which parents feel for their family, was found to be the best tie for securing the duty of the former to the state, by hazarding the forfeiture of the latter whenever that duty was infringed. 'It was fitted of old to the genius of this brave people, who, despising their own lives, were only to be moved by a generous regard to their posterity.' But is it equally adapted to the manners of a Mahometan court, where (as one of their poets affirms) 'the father loves his grandchildren the best, because in them he sees the enemies of his enemy?'—an idea which must shock every European mind, but which is nevertheless perfectly descriptive of their state of society.

It seems also to have been forgotten, that the reason why the

property of an individual is forfeited by the English law, is, because the lands are all supposed to be held mediately or immediately of the Crown; and the property having been acquired under the government, it is proper that it should revert to the source from whence it flowed. But these relations do not apply to the present case. The Company and the Nabob were joined only by a federal union, which equalized their claims, without conferring on either a paramount authority. Where the union was inconvenient, the federal tie might be dissolved; but neither could assume the property of the other. An urgent and imperious necessity, threatening the existence of a state, will often sink the considerations of equal justice. But was there any such necessity here? A greater security it is said was necessary. Security against what? Not against Tippoo, for he was gone; and as to security against the Nabob himself, what could he do? Had he troops? Had he arms, or money, or credit? No; he had not a single trooper, nor a firelock, nor a thousand pagodas in his chest,—nor credit to borrow half that sum without collateral security. He was poor and peaceable; and every way the most eligible ruler we could have appointed over a nation of Hindoos. But his family has riches and influence. The Boody Begum, his sister, is rich. Nessum ul Mulk, his brother, is not less so. We have ensured the inveterate enmity of all these persons, and exchanged a secure and substantial power for a nominal dominion, which must be hated and opposed. From a dread of hostility, we have created enemies where we had none before.

A great deal is said, in the Report, on the circumstance of a cipher having been used. But is a cipher, then, so uncommon a thing? Is it not used in every *durbar* in India? Do not our residents use it in every letter that is written at these *durbars?* Or is there nothing besides treason that men may wish to conceal? There are two circumstances, however, which render all this discussion ludicrous. The first is, that in the letters which are most excepted against, the cipher is not used at all. The other is, that it appears to be composed only of eighteen characters, descriptive merely of personal qualities, and utterly incapable of being used for the purposes of political communication.

There is a great deal also, in the Report and other papers, about the Nabob having allowed the 'language of rebellion to be *preached*' in our capital. The foundation of which charge is, that, upon one occasion, some lessons were read, or discourses pronounced, in the mosque, recommending war against Christians. To those who know any thing of Mahometanism, it must be needless to say, that this is one of its leading and avowed principles, and that it would not be easy to read a lesson from

the Koran, without being guilty of this sort of rebellion. The following texts are taken almost at random. '*War is enjoined you against infidels.*' Koran, c. 2. p. 38. 'O true believers! take not the Jews or Christians for your friends.' c. 5. p. 141. 'They are infidels who say verily God is Christ the son of Mary.' c. 5. p. 133. 'Oh true believers! wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you, and know that God is with those who fear him.' c. 9. p. 265. 'When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them.' &c. &c.

Such passages are read daily in every mosque in Indostan; and they are read without danger, because every man of sense knew that the age of fanaticism, like that of chivalry, is over; and that Mussulman soldiers, now-a-days, fight for pay rather than for faith. A circumstance, pretty well proved indeed, from Mahometans being to be found alike in the service of every state, or prince, of whatever religion, throughout India or Asia. We doubt, indeed, very much, whether there is a single instance on record, of any one sepoy, officer, or other person, having deserted our service, because we were at war with a prince of the same religion which he himself professed. Thus, then, the whole story of preaching the language of rebellion, when examined into, turns out to be only preaching the Mahometan faith; which (like many other exhortations from the pulpit) had little effect on those who heard it.

We have now gone hastily over most of the considerations that bear upon the justice of this most extraordinary proceeding; and few, we believe, will be hardy enough to defend it on this ground; but we know that it has found advocates on the score of policy. For our own parts, we are very much disposed to doubt if there can ever be any sound policy in injustice; but, in the present case, there is no need to refer to such a general maxim. We hold India by the tenure of *opinion* only; our physical strength is as nothing to that of the natives; and our dominion over all these fair countries, is upheld solely by certain opinions and prejudices, which it is the obvious tendency of our present policy to destroy. The mass of the people is kept in order by their attachment to their religion, and to rank and caste, which makes it easy to manage them by the instrumentality of their rulers; and these rulers, again, we have hitherto preserved in alliance or subjection by the fidelity with which we have discharged to them the duties of protectors and allies. By our usurpation of the Carnatic, we have done our utmost to subvert both these principles. We have degraded rank, and violated sanctity; and have availed ourselves of our power to despoil our most antient ally of his influence and

honours. The dispossessed family, of course, will hate us with a deadly hatred; and the great body of Rajahs throughout the country will be apt to join in a deadly feud against that power which has only been exerted of late for their destruction. Allowing, for a moment, that they will not carry along with them a great proportion of the people, and that the superior equity of our government should at first render us popular with the lower classes, it is evidently quite absurd to suppose, that we should ever succeed to that influence which was secured to their native rulers by ancient habits and superstitions, more strong than compulsion. A handful of strangers and infidels must speedily be annihilated among a vast nation of independent bigots; and our rule is absolutely at an end, the moment we cease to rule by the help of superstition and prejudice.

It is remarked by Thucydides, as a principle in human nature, that the existing government is seldom liked by the subjects. During the period of the Nabob's government, we were hardly known to the inhabitants of the country, otherwise than as gentlemen living in the large towns, who spent their money freely; were regular in their payments, and behaved well to their domestics. We had no invidious duties to discharge; and the good we did, made us to be respected. The Nabob's government performed all the invidious duties.—They exacted the revenue, levied the customs, and inflicted the punishments. They were naturally regarded as the oppressors, whilst we were considered as the benefactors of the country. But how is it now? We have changed places with the Nabob; and our relations of esteem are also changed in the eyes of the natives. A certain degree of severity will always attend the collection of the revenue in India; at least, many years must elapse before a system can be found sufficiently regular to ensure at once a prompt and easy payment. Is it wise then, to take upon ourselves a task which must naturally render us disagreeable to the inhabitants, especially as it is at least very doubtful, whether we can collect more from the Carnatic than the Nabob did? and, considering the expenses of our judicial system, the balance will not, perhaps, be much in our favour.

Such is the situation into which we have brought ourselves by this rash act of cupidity or ambition. We have been guilty of a great wrong, in order to bring on ourselves a great calamity—and have committed injustice, without any prospect of advancing our worldly prosperity. Such is the aspect of the present and the past.—Before concluding, we may cast a hasty glance to the future. Is the evil which has been done remediable; and how are we to conduct ourselves in the circumstances which have actually occurred?—Very opposite notions are entertained upon this subject;

and we shall state them very briefly, without presuming to offer any opinion of our own.

It is said, on the one hand, that the country should be retained, because our civil government and internal economy, though necessarily defective, contains within itself a principle of melioration, which no Mahometan government ever does; and because it is believed, that the native princes, if restored once more to their power, would gather wisdom from their misfortunes; and, whilst they appeared to forget the wrongs they had suffered, would only wait for an occasion of revolt. There are many things which ought not to be done,—but, being done, must be adhered to.

On the other hand, the advocates for the restitution of the country affirm, that the permanency and real stability of our empire depends entirely on the degradation of the natives; and that every thing that tends to ameliorate their condition, must sap the foundations of our power. Hence it is thought, that the vesting a proprietary right in the inhabitants, the introduction of equal laws, the overthrow of the ancient families, and every thing else which tends to create a revolution in the habits and manners of the people, will in the end prove fatal to our empire. They regard the security of our government, as a greater object than any little addition to our revenues; and this, they think, would be best produced by governing the natives through the medium of their ancient rulers, and removing ourselves from the invidious duties of being their immediate controulers. They affirm, that the seizure of the Carnatic has disgraced us, in the eyes of all the country powers; and that no confidence will be placed in our government, until it is restored to its rightful owners. *Spoliatus ante omnia restituendus.*

ART. XIV. *Orders in Council; or, an Examination of the Justice, Legality, and Policy of the New System of Commercial Regulations. With an Appendix of State Papers, Statutes and Authorities.* pp. 114. Longman & Co. and J. Ridgway, London, 1808.

WE have received this interesting and very able little publication, just as we were preparing to close our labours for the present quarter; and have been so much struck with the importance and novelty of the disquisitions which it contains, that we cannot resist the temptation of laying a hasty account of it before our readers.

As a considerable part of the argument is applicable to the question in the precise shape which it will assume before Parliament, and regards, therefore, the particular form of the mea-

sures lately adopted by the English government, rather than the general views of belligerent, or commercial policy, from which those measures took their rise, we shall pass over this branch of the subject very rapidly; and referring our readers to the work itself for satisfaction on it, shall bestow our chief attention upon the latter portion of the discussion, in itself quite general, and applicable to the prevalent notions of trade and war, as a system.

The tract is divided into three parts. The first, discusses the question, whether the late Orders in Council are consistent with the law of nations; and endeavours to show, from various considerations, that they are wholly repugnant to it: That they are measures of pretended retaliation against our enemy, whom no one ever considered as a party in the cause; but are in reality directed against neutral nations, whom we have no possible right to injure, merely because our enemy has done so, unless they have first acquiesced in the wrong, and thus made themselves parties to his quarrel: That no time was given for even asking the neutrals, whether they were disposed to yield or to resist,—the French decree of blockade having been explained by the French government in a manner quite consistent with the law of nations, and acted upon accordingly, up almost to the date of our Orders in Council: That even admitting the general plea of retaliation, the act of our Government is not in the nature of a retaliating or reciprocal proceeding;—it is not preventing neutrals from direct trade with France, because she would prevent them from direct trade with England, but forcing them to trade with France in a particular way profitable to ourselves, because France would blockade England altogether: That the regulations respecting certificates of origin, are still less like retaliation; and that, in truth, whatever may be the enemy's intention as to his decree, his power of executing it is confined to the part which is strictly justifiable by the law of nations, viz. the shutting of his ports to certain ships,—all the rest being empty threat and insult, and forming no excuse whatever for our aggressions on neutrals, whether they resent them or put up with them.

To every one of these arguments we are ready to subscribe; and they appear to us quite decisive of the question, touching the law of nations. But we could have wished that the defence of the Order issued by the late Administration, on January 7. 1807, had been less broadly stated. The arguments by which it is supported, are many of them just; and, viewing it as an application only (for it is in truth scarcely an extension) of the rule of the war 1756, we must admit, that it rests on the same grounds with this rule. The preamble, too, when it mentions retaliation as the plea for issuing it, very possibly means only to state the motive

for using a just right, and not to defend the justice of that right. Moreover, this Order, even as a retaliation, is not without its favourable circumstances; for there were several neutrals at that time beside America; and the measure may have been taken with a view to the majority of cases, leaving to America her exceptions, founded on time not having been given her for acquiescing in, or resisting the French decree; which exceptions, it may be said, were competent before our prize courts. After making all these concessions, we shall not be accused of too much rigour towards the defenders of the Order 7. January, if we add, that they should state more explicitly their avowal, and their defence, too, of the Rule 1756, on which it ultimately, and by their own showing, rests. It is a good argument against the author of 'War in Disguise,' and his adherents, to quote the Rule 1756, when they attack the Order January 1807, which they certainly never will do, unless to accuse it of not going far enough. But what defence of the Order is it to those who deny that Rule? If the rule is fairly avowed, then we are at issue with the supporters of the Order upon the Rule;—if it is not avowed, or if they fail in maintaining it, then we are at issue with them upon the whole of their Order. Unhappily, such *argumenta ad hominem*, are too commonly introduced in discussing great state questions in this debating and eloquent country. Is a great measure to be defended? Its friends never think what are its merits, but who are its opponents; and instead of justifying their conduct to the world, or to the people whose interests it affects, think they do enough, if they throw a sop to the barking animals who are attacking it. *You* did so yourselves;' or, '*You* did worse;'—or, 'What would *you* have said had we not done this?' These, alas, are the arguments by which our great statesmen but too often vindicate to their country the very questionable policy which they are pursuing!—To all such topics *we* make one answer. 'It may be your adversaries have done as bad or worse; but what is that to the country? *We* appear for the country, and require, not that you shall *estop* your opponents, by proving them to be worse than yourselves;—this is no comfort to the people;—but that you shall defend your cause on its own merits.' The misery of the system we have alluded to is just this;—that from *defending* measures on the ground of their being justified by former example, or because the adversary's mouth is stopped by his own conduct, the transition is too easy to *adopting* measures with a view to such wretched considerations; or, at any rate, without the salutary dread of an opposition, controlling the executive upon broad, statesmanlike principles. Are we quite sure that no compromise is made upon the public welfare, in the cabinet as

well as in the senate; that measures are never taken, merely lest such a party would cry out on such a false pretence were they neglected; that resolutions are never adopted hastily, and without due consideration of their own merits, because the former conduct of the adversary having disarmed him, no danger of rigid scrutiny in public is apprehended? In a word, is not the country in some risk of *slipping through* between the two bodies of men appointed to sustain her, while they are busied with their mutual contentions? These reflections, amounting to somewhat more than matters of suspicion, are naturally suggested by the conduct of the argument upon the Orders of January 7th in the tract before us; and though they are connected with the vulgar clamour against all public men, lately too prevalent in this country, we are convinced that they have at least thus much of solidity, that they will either receive the attention of the higher class of statesmen to whom we allude, or they will raise up a third and powerful party in the nation, to the exclusion of all the rest.

Whatever countenance these remarks may seem to afford to the popular doctrines held by certain ignorant and thoughtless persons in the present crisis, we are confident that the next remark, suggested by the branch of the subject now under review, will not be liable to any such misconstruction.

In arguing the question of public law, it would have been advisable in the writer before us, to recollect that there are unhappily many people who have lately been seduced into a contempt of the whole idea of rights of states, and to whom a measure is rather recommended by any proof of its repugnance to the law of nations. While such wild and profligate doctrines were only circulated among the ignorant multitude, we were disposed to disregard them altogether; and, accordingly, we argued the neutral question in our last Number upon the old established grounds, satisfied with proving any pretension to be against the public law, in order to prove that it should instantly be abandoned. But since that period, a melancholy change has taken place; and these shallow and pernicious fancies have, unhappily for all Europe as well as this country, rapidly crept upwards in the state, until they have actually reached the very highest places,—are acted upon by our fleets and armies, proclaimed in royal speeches, and openly avowed in national manifestoes. The doctrine which denies that nations have any common laws, and asserts that *Right* should now be read *Might*, is therefore by no means so contemptible a political heresy as we once thought it; and we regret that the present tract did not undertake a refutation of it, as preliminary to the argument on the justice of the new measures.

The second part of this work is devoted to an exposition of the

illegality of the new system, or an examination of the question, Are the late Orders in Council consistent with the municipal laws of the realm? It is proved very satisfactorily, that they are contrary to the whole spirit and practice of the Constitution; that they violate the laws most firmly established for the protection of trade, from the Great Charter down to the present times; and that they, moreover, directly infringe a fundamental branch of the Navigation Act. For the proofs of these propositions, we must refer to the Tract itself, and the numerous authorities and statutory enactments which it cites. We shall only extract the concluding passage of this part of the discussion, where the general tendency of such measures in a constitutional view is pointed out.

'If a temporary preſſure of circumſtances had rendered ſome deviation from a particular law, or even ſome infringement upon the general ſpirit of the Conſtitution abſolutely neceſſary, and Government had, *for the mean while*, and as if ſenſible of the illegality of their proceedings, iſſued orders upon the face of them temporary like the emergency; the Parliament in its juſtice might have granted them that indemnity which they reſpectfully aſked. But here is a new ſyſtem of Royal enactment —of Executive legiſlation—a Privy Council Code promulgated by ſome half dozen individuals (for as ſuch only the law knows them) upon principles utterly repugnant to the whole theory and practice of the Conſtitution—a full grown Cabinet Statute book, not authorizing any ſingle and temporary proceeding, but preſcribing general rules for a length of time; diſpenſing with the laws of the land in ſome points; adding to them in others; in not a few inſtances annulling them. It is an entire new Law-merchant for England during war, proclaimed by the court, not of Parliament, but of St James's, with as much regard to the competent authorities, or to the rightful laws of the realm, as the Reſcripts of the latter Roman Emperor. It is not ſuch a daring attempt as this that ſhould be ſanctioned by the Parliament, againſt whoſe authority it is levelled.

'But the Miniſters, ſhould they obtain an Indemnity, may now come forward, and propoſe to carry their new ſyſtem into effect by a regular act of the legiſlature. It will then be for Parliament to conſider whether they can by one deed of theirs overthrow the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution. The ſtatute may indeed have all the formalities of law—it may ſupply the ſolemnity which the illegal orders now want. But repugnant as it muſt be to the genuine ſpirit of our Government, men may perhaps look for the ſubſtance of the Engliſh law rather in thoſe fundamental maxims of our juriſprudence which it will have ſupplanted. All the proofs formerly adduced to illuſtrate the unconſtitutional nature of the late Orders, form, in truth, inſurmountable objections to any meaſure which may be propoſed for erecting them into laws, unleſs indeed ſome paramount and permanent reaſons of expediency can be urged, for enterprizing ſo mighty an innovation upon the conſtitution of the ſtate.' p. 34—36.

It is not inconsistent with the plan of a literary Journal to give a place among its extracts to remarks upon the general theory and the history of our laws. We transcribe, therefore, one more passage from this division of the argument.

'Thus, from the earliest times, the tenderness of the English Constitution for the trading interests of this country, is remarkably exemplified. They are regarded with more peculiar favour than almost any other subject of legislation. Even in ages when their magnitude was but inconsiderable, every measure appears to have been taken which might promise to cherish or promote them. To say that these endeavours were often fruitless, and very hurtful in their effects, is only to make in this instance an observation suggested by the history of all public transactions; and to regret that, as governments often display less virtue than prudence, so their intentions are sometimes better than their abilities. The efforts of our ancestors may frequently have been injudicious, but their desire was always the same—to promote the commerce of these realms. In pursuing this object, they seem not to have cared how much they encroached upon the power of the Crown, or how little they humoured the prejudices of the people. It is not unworthy of our observation, that, in many respects, their anxiety for encouraging at once both trade and civil liberty, led them to more liberal views of policy than have always marked the commercial legislation of later times. Even in the present day, a man might incur the fashionable imputations of "*not being truly British*," or of "*indulging in modern philosophy*," who should inculcate the very maxims handed down from the Barons of King John and his successor. And persons whose knowledge of the English history goes no further back than the French Revolution, or who have only studied the Constitution in the war of words which it has excited, would probably make an outcry about "*the wisdom of our ancestors*," if one were disposed to repeat some liberal doctrines, antient even at the date of Magna Charta. If by some of the laws already cited, traders are placed on the footing with nobles, and the great baron's independence of the king's prerogative, shared with the merchant; if by a multitude of others, foreigners at amity with the realm are protected and highly favoured; if within the period of our written laws certain rights and privileges are secured to alien enemies themselves, and they are in some degree secured from the absolute controul of the Crown—what will the thoughtless persons alluded to think, should it appear that, in the remotest times to which the history of our law reaches, and before the men were born who obtained the great charter of our liberties, all the warlike spirit of the day—all the inveterate hatreds of a military people towards the enemy, and their contempt for peaceful industry, did not prevent them from extending to the persons of hostile merchants the same protection, in the midst of warlike operations, which the sanctity of their functions secured to the priests? It was in those remote times held to be a duty incumbent on all warriors to spare the persons of enemies within the realm, if they happened to be

either priests, husbandmen, or merchants; or as their rude verses expressed it (in a style which some of our wise and classical statesmen may now a-days deride)

Clericus, Agricola, Mercator, tempore belli,
Ut ovetque, colat, commutet pace fruantur.

'Nor let it be thought mere matter of curious reflection to indulge, upon the present occasion, in such retrospects as these. The remarkable facts which have been stated deserve our most serious attention, as descriptive of the liberal and politic spirit of the Constitution from its most antient times. They prove that at least a prescriptive title cannot be shown for the narrow-minded views which the little men of this day entertain. They show that our ancestors held the rights of the people so sacred, and, as intimately connected with those rights, the great interests of trade, that they would in nowise compromise them, either to gratify a spirit of national rivalry, or to exalt the powers of the Crown, or to humour the caprice of the aristocracy. For it is a mere epigram to say, as Montesquieu hath done, in allusion to Magna Charta, "that the English alone have made the rights of foreign merchants a condition of national freedom." Our ancestors favoured and protected foreign merchants, out of respect to the interests and liberties of England. They knew that no more deadly blow could be aimed at the merchants and people of these realms, than by allowing them an exclusive possession of freedom, while their foreign customers should be placed at the disposal of the Prince. They saw the impossibility of long preserving any such limited system of popular rights; and they saw too, that commerce being in its nature a mutual benefit, the power of the Crown would triumph over the prosperity of the people, as well as over their liberties, the moment that the protection of the Constitution was withdrawn from the merchant-stranger. For this reason it was, that the wise laws which we have cited were continually passed and acted upon in a long, uninterrupted series, from the time when they arose out of those early traditional maxims of our Norman ancestors, down to the reign of Philip and Mary, when the judges, according to their true spirit, declared that the *rights of English subjects* were attacked by injuries offered to *foreign merchants*.' p. 18—22.

We now come to the third question discussed in the work,—the Policy of the new system. In the present temper of men's minds, this is perhaps the ground upon which it will be most willingly put by both parties; and many, whom every view of its repugnance to the law of nations, and to the municipal law of the land, might fail to move, or even dispose in its favour, will probably listen with some attention to proofs of its being absolutely detrimental to the country. When they find that we have been violating the rights of foreign states, and breaking through our own constitution, for *nothing*—nay, to our great and manifest injury in point of profit;—that we have been breaking all laws public and municipal, and gained nothing—nay, lost a great deal by it;—they

may be disposed to review their former contemptuous judgment upon the value of those sacred principles which bind nations and individuals together; and to reprobate as unjust and unlawful, that conduct which they find to be ungainful.

This *third* part of the dissertation begins with clearing the way towards a correct understanding of the new system, by some preliminary remarks upon the confused, and in many particulars contradictory, regulations laid down in the Orders of Council. A general statement is then given of their substance,—a sketch of the sum of the changes which they are intended to produce upon the commercial intercourse of the world. This general view is illustrated by the following statement of the case, and the summary to which it leads of the principal points that touch the question of policy.

'To illustrate the operation of this new system, let us take the example of an American vessel, and observe what she is allowed and forbidden to do. She may sail with an American cargo to England, and from thence to France, without landing her cargo, if it consist not of cotton or manufactured goods. From France she may return with a French or other restricted cargo, which she must land before she can carry it back to America. The chief exports of America are raw produce; therefore, almost her whole trade with the restricted countries is limited by the necessity of touching at an English port twice, and landing the cargo once: if the American cargo consist of cotton, it must be landed in the outward voyage also, and can only proceed by license. The American may trade directly to and from the enemy's West India islands; but cannot (on account of the former law) bring their produce to this country; nor, by the Orders, can she carry it to the restricted European ports. She cannot pursue her voyage to and from the north of Europe, by touching at Man, Guernsey or Jersey, either going or coming. But, besides touching there, she must touch at a British or Irish port. It is evident then, that unless for convenience of smuggling, and evading the French decrees, no American will trade to Europe, through Man, Guernsey and Jersey. The American cannot pursue her voyage to or from the south of Europe, by touching at Malta and Gibraltar; but must go first to a British or Irish port, and afterwards return thither.

'This illustration comprehends the only material features of the new system, viz its forcing all the neutral commerce to run through the ports of the United kingdom; its giving the English government a command of the supply of cotton, and some smaller articles, as brandies, wines, European snuff and tobacco; and its stopping the exportation of all enemy's West India produce, except cotton, cochineal and indigo, either to this country or to any restricted part of Europe. It is upon these points that the policy of the measure must be tried.' p. 41, 42.

The substance of the new regulations being obtained in a sufficiently simple and comprehensive form for examining the expediency of the system, and the ground, as it were, cleared for the discussion, the consequences of the intended changes to our commerce, and the commerce of our enemies and allies, are investigated at considerable length, upon the supposition that the whole of our edicts are quietly acquiesced in by neutrals; and then their tendency to irritate those neutrals is separately pointed out. Instead of following the plan of the work, and analyzing its contents minutely, we shall, according to our practice, endeavour to exhibit a view of its substance, after our own way of considering it, and shall intersperse such additional remarks as suggest themselves to us, although they may have been omitted in the work under review. The subject is of infinite importance, not merely to this country at the present moment, but to the whole science of politics, in which, views, of a tendency the most novel, are now industriously propagated, and a great, and, in our opinion, not merely perilous, but fatal, experiment is attempted, by persons under the guidance of the most blind and extravagant passions with which the rulers of an enlightened people were ever stricken.

France having attempted, or rather threatened to blockade this country, and cut off all intercourse between us and our foreign customers, a prudent statesman would naturally have considered, in the first place, the probable consequences of such a resolution on the enemy's part being enforced. He would immediately have perceived, that the most rigorous execution of this measure could only have cut off our direct intercourse with the parts of the Continent where French influence prevails, leaving us all our trade with neutrals; that is, our trade with America, and with those parts of Europe not overrun by French troops; consequently, he would have concluded, that the utmost exertions of the French government, admitting them to prevail over the proverbial ingenuity of neutral traders, and to prevent our goods from getting in their bottoms directly over to the Continent, could have gone not one step further; and that our direct trade with those neutrals, and, consequently, through their countries, with the countries most subject to the enemy's influence, would still have remained to us. Thus, it would have appeared, that even if France had succeeded in preventing Americans (for example) from carrying over our goods direct to the Continent, she never could prevent them from carrying those same goods from hence to their own ports, and from their own ports to France. No certificates of origin, nor any other conceivable regulation, could have prevented a British cargo from finding its way over by such a route.

Nothing but the resolution to give up her whole trade at once, or the possession of fleets sufficient to invest our coasts, and cut off our direct trade with America, could have destroyed our roundabout trade with France. She neither has shown this resolution, nor does she possess those fleets.

The prudent statesman (whose *existence* we are assuming as a bare possibility) would next have inquired by what means he could diminish most effectually the total amount of the restrictions which the enemy was thus enabled to impose on our commerce. As the roundabout trade was of all others the surest means of defeating those restrictions, he would, at all events, have left that untouched—encouraged it—relied upon it—satisfied that nothing but the destruction of it could ever carry the threats of France into execution. *This* would have struck him at any rate, and he would have laid it down as a matter of course. As little would it have been a question, whether the direct trade, which the enemy prohibited between us and himself, should be encouraged in spite of him, and prohibited on our side, as a measure of retaliation. Whether we should say to neutrals, 'You shall not enter here from enemy's ports, because he won't allow you to land from our ports;' or, 'Come here freely, and depart freely; endeavour, by all means, to evade his restrictions; and we shall afford you every facility for this purpose.' This question would not have detained our statesman long; for he would immediately perceive that, by adopting the former alternative, he was just playing into the enemy's hand—confirming his decree—carrying into execution parts of it which he himself could not have enforced—and guarding against evasions of it, which must have rendered it almost nugatory without our assistance. To have encouraged the trade between the enemy's country and our own, direct by neutrals, would therefore be the next resolution of the reasoning which we are supposing. By leaving the roundabout trade with France untouched, we should have left open a channel of communication with the Continent in spite of her; and, by promoting all evasions of her decrees against the direct trade, we should have done our best to prevent her from blocking up another channel, much more within her power.

What do the *statesmen*, whose system we are examining, propose to themselves? They resolve at once to shut up the channel of the roundabout trade, which the enemy could least of all have effected himself; and they try to encourage the direct channel, which is the most under his control. They do his business for him, where he most wants their aid, and can the least do without them. Where he is powerful, and may do something in spite of their teeth, they attempt to counteract his regulations. There

are two gates in our field through which we wish to drive our sheep: one of them we can open and shut at pleasure; it leads into the highway, and we have the key in our pockets: the other belongs, half to us, and half to a malicious neighbour, who wishes to prevent us from driving out our sheep at all. What shall we do? The great counsellors of the time tell us to shut up our own gate by all means—to make it as fast as we can with bolts and bars, so that not a lambkin may get out; and then to go struggle with our neighbour at the other gate, and try to drive our flocks through that passage. It is related, that the Chancellor Oxenstiern said to his son, when he sent him to a congress of statesmen, and the young man was struck with awe at the solemnity of the occasion, 'Go, my child, and see how little wisdom it takes to govern the world.'

But supposing the prudent statesman, above imagined, had a mind to consider the question of retaliating upon the enemy, let us see how he would reason. He would certainly, in the first place, ask himself, whether, by any conceivable mode of retaliation, he could avoid doing, in great part at least, the very thing which the enemy wishes? Whether, commerce being essentially, and in its own nature, a mutual benefit, he could stop the trade of France, without either immediately or ultimately stinting the trade of England? He would then inquire, which party is likely to suffer most in the contest of self-destruction, in the rivalry of privations and losses? And as it is clear that this must be the party which has most trade—whose trade is most extensive in proportion to his whole resources—whose commerce, in a word, is most essential to his general prosperity—so would it likewise be manifest, that any injury we might inflict on the enemy would be trifling, compared with its expense to ourselves; and that we should damage our own interests so much more than we could injure his, that the utmost we could gain by such a bargain would not be worth the price we must pay.

If, however, retaliation must be resorted to, and if we are resolved to hurt the enemy, cost what it will to ourselves, our statesman would take especial care to see that his measures were really those of retaliation; and if he had the sense of a child, he would be cautious how he mistook *cooperation* for *retaliation*. Our new system makes exactly this mistake. We attack the commerce of neutrals and allies; and we favour the trade of the enemy. One of the greatest markets, if not the greatest for American commerce, is France, and the rest of the restricted country. We at once obstruct all direct communication between America and this market. One of the best markets of France and the restricted country is England. We not only facilitate, by every

means in our power, the access to this market; but we actually compel all neutrals to drive the traffic of France with her best customers in the shortest and easiest way. American commerce, we say, shall be all confined, roundabout and indirect. Hostile commerce—French commerce, shall be easy, direct and open!

In truth it now depends on our enemy, by means of our assistance, whether any, and what commerce, shall be carried on between himself and England. And this we call a blockade of France, which is in truth much liker a blockade of England. In truth, a general and rigorous blockade of France, liable though it be to many of the objections already stated, is at least an intelligible and consistent measure.

'It cuts off his foreign trade entirely, although it deprives us of our trade with him; and if commercial distress can ruin him, such a proceeding gives us some chance of effecting his downfall. But the new system is only a blockade of the enemy, if the enemy himself chuses that it shall be so. It can never, by possibility, ruin him, or even materially injure his commerce: for the moment he is pinched, he can relieve himself. He can allow neutrals to enter his own ports, from those of Great Britain; and thus obtain as large a share of foreign commerce as he desires.* These neutral carriers, it is true, must land and reship in England certain cargoes; and many (but not by any means all) of these voyages will be somewhat more circuitous than formerly. An American bound to Bordeaux, must touch at Cork, Falmouth, &c. which is somewhat out of her course; if bound to Dunkirk, Amsterdam, &c. she would probably touch at Cowes from choice, to receive advices respecting the market from London correspondents. Admitting that some considerable inconvenience arises from hence, in all cases, on an average; the whole effect is to raise the prices of the neutral goods a little to the enemy, and to lower somewhat the profits of the neutral, without any gain whatever to ourselves. Our friends and our enemies lose each a little, and we gain nothing at all. The obligation to land certain cargoes can do us no more real good. It increases somewhat the loss of the neutral and the enemy, and may enable us to keep a few more customhouse officers. If, indeed, the Orders in Council are followed up by an act of Parliament imposing duties on the goods so landed, then we clearly shall propose to ourselves, not certainly to distress the enemy's trade, but to profit both by his commerce and that of our friends. Would it not be a much simpler expedient, and answer the very same purpose, to propose that America should pay us a yearly tribute, and to raise it as she best can, either upon her own citizens, or her French customers? If the duty which we mean to lay on is not the merest trifle, we may be well assured that America will not submit to it.' p. 44—46.

---

* 'It is confidently reported that some relaxation of the French Decree has already been allowed in Holland, though this does not appear very likely.'

Upon the probable consequences of a colonial blockade, (the only thing like a blockade in the new system), as it applies to the enemy's designs in Europe, the following remarks are quite conclusive.

'This measure is much more plain and consistent with belligerent views than the rest of the plan; but, when examined, it appears equally shortsighted and unwise. The blockade of the enemy's colonies can only have two objects—to deprive the enemy of certain articles of consumption—and to increase the demand for those articles in our own market. These objects are, in a considerable degree, incompatible; for our West India produce commonly finds a vent on the Continent, by supplying the wants of the enemy. But supposing, for argument sake, that both the two ends may be gained at once, let us examine the consequences.

'The French have borne every species of public and private calamity for nearly eighteen years; they have passed through all the vicissitudes of revolution, from anarchy to despotism; they have tasted only of war, with its whole train of evils, of which privations have been the smallest; they have suffered the most unsparing conscription, augmented in rigour as the service of the army became more irksome and dangerous: to all this they have submitted in quiet, with rallying points for emigration in the neighbouring nations, and for rebellion in the heart of their own country. No dangers, no calamities, no private distresses, not even the conscription itself, has ever extorted a murmur of discontent—and we now expect insurrections to break out as soon as coffee and sugar shall become scarce at Paris, or the army shall find tobacco growing dear! The conscription is at an end, or is become only holiday work; the armies go out, not to fight, but to revel in triumph, and to amuse themselves with foreign travel: But grocery and snuff are advancing in price, and let Bonaparte look to it! If he does not speedily make peace on our terms, restore the Bourbons, and give up Belgium, his earthly course is run!—This is the argument.

'But if it be not a waste of time to give such positions as these a serious refutation, let us only consider how little chance any commercial blockade has of being effectually enforced. Every successful attempt of this kind which we make, augments incalculably the temptations to elude our vigilance. If certain drugs, for example, were almost excluded from France by the activity of our cruizers, their price would rise so enormously, that a neutral merchant would find his account in attempting to land a cargo of bark, (necessarily lowered in price elsewhere), though he should lose three fourths in the attempt: so that we shall in vain continue to wage war against the wretched hospitals of our enemy. To a certain degree the same remark applies in all the other cases. In one way or another the goods will find their way from the places of glut, to those of demand. Their prices may be somewhat enhanced; and the use of such as are not essentially necessary, will be diminished.

'All the changes of this sort, however, which we attempt to make, and to a certain degree successfully, will take place gradually. The

stock in hand will be economized in proportion as the further supplies are obstructed, and, instead of producing lasting discontents, or even disgust with the war, among our enemies, we cannot help furnishing the very remedy along with the evil, by teaching them gradually to alter certain habits, in themselves indifferent. It would not be so irrational for their rulers to expect that some hatred of England should arise out of this policy; but for us, who have not once excited the least disposition to throw off the French yoke by all our hostilities—who see the French people themselves, not merely unsubdued, but even flourishing after all our victories over their trade—for us to think of conquering, by the scarcity of two or three wares, the people whom our greatest captains and innumerable ships have never humbled during years of the most successful naval warfare—surely exceeds the bounds even of popular or party delusion.' p. 47–51.

The only remaining part of the subject, the effects of the blockade in relieving our own planters, we have already, in treating of West Indian affairs, had occasion to anticipate. Referring our readers to last Number for the discussion, it may be proper merely to add in this place, that such relief is confessedly temporary;—it is bounded by the war; and the produce which it must cause to be accumulated in the hostile colonies, coming over suddenly and in enormous quantities the moment peace is restored, will give even those planters, who have been relieved in the mean while, abundant reason to lament so shortsighted a policy, and to wish that they had wisely had recourse to the only radical cure for the evils complained of—a diminished cultivation of the great staples.

Convinced, as we are, that the general view which we have now taken, is sufficient to expose the monstrous errors of the new system; and considering, that the arguments now offered apply to the case of the neutrals yielding implicit obedience, as well as to the more probable supposition of their quarrelling with us, we are the less anxious about examining the last branch of the work before us, which exposes the dangers of the system to our relations with America. One of the most striking parts of the whole folly is, the peculiar time chosen for proclaiming it. The Americans, then the only neutrals, were on bad terms with France;—a month's delay might have induced them to join us heartily in our hostilities;—and we preclude the possibility of this event by our own act and deed. It is, however, justly remarked in the tract before us, that they are shortsighted politicians indeed, who would prefer the cooperation to the neutrality of America. Our commerce could only be more injured by one event, than by America quarrelling with France; and that event is,—her quarrelling with England.

It is impossible to close these remarks, without alluding to the

topics touched upon at the conclusion of this tract,—the gloomy prospects of the country in the present awful crisis. Destined to fight the battles of Europe, with an enemy always upbraided for his want of principle, and his utter contempt of the rights of nations, England has chosen, for the first time, to abandon the high ground on which she has hitherto stood, and to strive with that enemy in the pernicious, as well as despicable race of injustice to unoffending and unprotected states. It is this which forms the worst feature in our present case—this avowal of profligacy, first in our actions, and since, even in our state papers—this regret, which we have now seen expressed in declarations under the Sovereign's name, that we have so long abstained from deeds of violence, and stuck so long to the wreck of public principle;—this it is which may justly terrify us, now that we are preparing for new battles, whether we view it as the sure symptom of approaching downfall, or as a no less certain cause of diffidence in our own courage, and exultation to the enemy.

This nation has always been too fond of war; and has usually gone on fighting, as Mr Hume has observed, for a year or two after the objects were attained, or finally lost, for which it had entered into hostilities. The rancour which has been generated during our present contest with France, and the tone of boastful defiance which has been encouraged in its later periods, have strengthened this national propensity to a degree, which seems to us to border on insanity. But the love of war, we trust, is not, even at the present moment, so strong in the body of the nation, as the love of justice and the dread of dishonour;—and, when they find under what form, and with what consequences, our future hostilities are to be carried on, they may look with less aversion to the cessation of a contest, that threatens, in its progress, to undo the civilization of the world.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

From October 1807, *to January* 1808.

AGRICULTURE.

A GENERAL View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement; distinguishing and describing the geographical Situation and general Circumstances of the County; the State of Property; the Buildings; the mode of Occupation; the Implements; the Enclosures; the arable Lands in every kind of Culture; the Grass-

lands, the Gardens and Orchards, the Woods and Plantations; the Wastes, the Improvements general and particular; the live Stock, the rural Economy and the political Economy; including Roads, Canals, Commerce, Manufactures, the Population, Science, &c. &c.; with 25 Engravings and a Coloured Map, distinguishing the different kinds of Soil. 8vo. 15s. boards. By Charles Vancouver.

A Treatise on Gypsum, on its various Uses, and on its Application as a Manure. By Sutton Thomas Hood, Esq. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The Farmer's Account Book. Folio. Price 21s. for a year's accounts; or 10s. 6d. for half a year.

Essays on the Natural History and Origin of Peat Moss; the Means of improving it as a Soil, and other economical Purposes. By the Rev. Robert Rennie. 8vo. 5s. bound.

Discourses explanatary of the *Object* and *Plan* of the Course of Lectures on Agriculture and Rural Economy. By Andrew Coventry, M. D. Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh. 4s. boards.

ARTS.

An Essay on Transparencies. By Edward Orme. English and French, with Plates. 42s.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of G. Morland, with Remarks on his Works. By G. Dawe. 12s. bound.

The Life of George Washington, first President of the United States of America. By D. Ramsay. 9s.

The Remains of Henry Kirk White of Nottingham, with an Account of his Life. 2 vol. 8vo. 14s.

History of the Female Sex. Translated from the German of C. Meiners, by F. Shebert. 4 vol. 30s. boards.

Characteristic Anecdotes of Men of Learning and Genius, Natives of Great Britain and Ireland, during the last three Centuries. 10s. 6d. boards.

BOTANY.

An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany. By J. E. Smith. 14s.

CHEMISTRY.

A Dictionary of Chemistry and Mineralogy, with an Account of the Process employed in many of the most Important Chemical Manufactories, with Plates, &c. By A. & C. R. Aikin. 2 vol. 4to. 3*l.* 13s. 6d. boards.

Chemical Catechism. By S. Parkes. 12s. boards.

Elements of Geognosy, being Vol. III. and Part II. of the System of Mineralogy. By Robert Jameson, Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. 10s. boards.

COMMERCE.

The Radical Cause of the Present Distress of the British West India Planters pointed out, and the Inefficacy of the Measures which have been hitherto proposed for relieving them demonstrated, with Remarks on several Publications relative to the Value of the West India Trade. By W. Spence. 3s.

DRAMA.

Faulkener, a Tragedy. By W. Godwin. 2s. 6d.

Ella Rosenberg, a Melo-Drama. By James Kenny Esq. 2s.

Two Faces under a Hood, a Comic Opera, in Two Acts. By T. Dibdin. 2s. 6d.

Time's a Tell-Tale, a Comedy in Five Acts. By H. Siddons. 2s. 6d.

EDUCATION.

A Guide to Elocution, divided into Six Parts; containing Grammar, Composition, Synonymy, Language, Orations and Poems. By John Sabine. 12mo. 4s. boards.

Mental Perceptions illustrated by the Theory of Sensations, By Sarah Ferris. 4s. 6d. boards.

The Academic Orator, consisting of a Diversity of oratorical Selections, appertaining to every class of public Orations, for the Use of Schools and Academies; to which is prefixed a Dissertation on Oratorical Pronunciation, or Action. By J. H. Rice. 5s. bound.

Quæstiones Græcæ, or Questions adapted to the Eton Greek Grammar. By the Rev. J. Simpson. 2s. bound.

HISTORY.

The Dramatic Mirror, containing the History of the Stage from the earliest period to the present time, including a biographical and critical Account of all the Dramatic Writers from 1660 to the present time; and also a History of the Country Theatres in England, Ireland, and Scotland. By Thomas Gilliland. 2 vol. 12mo. 21s.

The History of the antient Borough of Pontefract; containing an interesting Account of its Castles, and the three different Sieges it sustained during the Civil Wars. With Notes, &c. By B. Boothroyd. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Fine 15s.

Annals of Great Britain, from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Amiens. 3 vol. 8vo. 27s. Fine 36s. boards.

GEOGRAPHY.

A Description of Ceylon, containing an Account of the Country, its Inhabitants, and Natural Productions; with Narratives of a Tour round the Island in 1800; the Campaign in Candy in 1803; and a Journey to Ramistoram in 1804. By the Rev. James Cordiner. 2 vol. 4to. 2*l.* 13s. 6d. boards.

Crosby's Pocket Gazetteer. 5s. Fine 7s. 6d.

LAW.

Reports of Cases on Appeal from Scotland, decided in the House of Peers. Vol. I. Containing the Period from the Union in 1707, to the Commencement of the Reign of George II. By David Robertson. Royal 8vo. 25s. bound.

The Trial of J. Ratford, one of the British Seamen who were taken out of the American Frigate Chesapeake, when searched by the Leopard, in which the Grounds of the present Dispute between Great Britain and America are seen in the clearest and most authentic Manner. 1s.

Remarks, Critical and Miscellaneous, on the Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone. By James Sedgwick, Esq. 4to. 12s. bound.

Notifications, Orders and Instructions, relating to Prize Subjects during the present War. 2s. 6d.

A short View of Legal Bibliography, containing some critical Observations on the Authorities of the Reporters and other Law Writers, collected from the best Authorities. By Richard Whalley Bridgeman, Esq. 8vo. 8s. bound.

A Treatise on the Law of Contracts and Agreements not under Seal. By Samuel Comyn, Esq. 2 vol. 1*l.* 11s. 6d. bound.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Admiralty, in the Time of the Right Honourable Sir William Scott. By C. Robinson. Vol. 6. Part I. 6s. bound.

MEDICINE.

A Letter on the Practice of Midwifery, addressed to Sir James Earle. By John Boys. 1s. 6d.

A Treatise on Hernia, being the Essay which gained the Prize offered by the Royal College of Surgeons, 1806. By William Laurence. 8vo.

Observations on Emphysema, or the Diseases which arise from an Effusion of the Air into the Cavity of the Thorax, or Subcutaneous Cellular Membrane. By Andrew Halliday. 8vo. 5s. boards.

Additional Cases of Gout, in further proof of the salutary Efficacy of the Cooling Treatment of that afflicting Disease, with illustrative Annotations, written Authorities in its Support, controversional Discussions, and a View of the present State and future Prospects of the Practice. By Robert Kinglake. 8vo. 8s. 6d. boards.

A Practical Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease. By T. M. Caton. 8vo. 2s.

The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, No. 13, exhibiting a Concise View of the latest and most important Discoveries in Medicine, Surgery, and Pharmacy. Published quarterly. 3s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letters and Sonnets on Moral and interesting Subjects, addressed to Lord John Russell. By Edmund Cartwright. Foolscap 8vo.

Report on the interesting Trial and Acquittal of that well-known Character John Bull, before the Tribunal of the World at large, for attacking and forcibly entering Copenhagen, and seizing various Ships, Naval Stores, &c. belonging to the King of Denmark. 2s. bound.

The Compiler, a Literary Banquet, consisting of interesting Extracts, &c. with original Pieces. Vol. I. 12mo. 4s. fine, boards.

Essays Scriptural, Moral and Logical. By W. & T. Ludlam. 2 vol. 8vo. 16s. boards.

A Domestic Story. 3s. boards.

Characteristic Anecdotes of Men eminent for their Genius and Learning, from the Reign of Henry the VIII. to the present Time. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Observations relative to the Divine Mission of Johanna Southcot, with a detail of the Proceedings of the Society called Quakers, against a Member for his Belief. By Daniel Roberts. 1s. 6d.

Eccentric Mirror. 4 vol. 12mo. 22s. bound.

Observations an Stage-Waggons, Stage-Coaches, Turnpike-Roads, Toll-Bars, Weighing-Machines, &c. By William Deacon. 2s. 6d.

The Builder's Companion; or, Country Gentleman's Assistant, comprising the Art of conducting and measuring Country Buildings, by a Plain and simple Method, &c. By D. Boyers. 8vo. 5s. bound.

Food for the Mind, No. 1. 1s. 6d. To be continued Monthly.

Gulliver and Munchausen outdone. By Peter Vandergoose. 4s. 6d.

A correct and interesting Account of the Siege, Bombardment, and Capitulation of Copenhagen, in the Year 1807, taken on the Spot, and printed in English at Copenhagen. By F. L. Somer. 1s.

Reports of a Deputation from the Hibernian Society, respecting the Religious State of Ireland; to which is annexed, a Plan of the Society, together with a List of its Officers. 1s.

The Student and Pastor, or Directions how to attain to Eminence and Usefulness in those respective Characters. By John Mason. 4s. bound.

Introduction to an Analytical Dictionary of the English Language. By D. Booth. 8vo. 5s. bound.

The Publican's Appeal, containing Observations upon the Power of the licensing Magistrates, Brewers' Leases, the Golden Lane and British Ale Breweries, Hope Insurance, &c.; Pro-

posals for redressing Publicans' Grievances, with an Appendix. By John Irving Maxwell. 4s.

Animadversions on an Admonitory Epistle to the Rev. Rowland Hill. By J. Ball. 8vo. 1s.

An Address to the Chairman of the East India Company, occasioned by Mr Twining's Letter to that Gentleman on the Dangers of interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Natives of India. By John Owen. 1s. 6d.

A Letter addressed to the Gentlemen of the British Museum. By the Author of the Dissertations on the Alexandrian Sarcophagus. 4to. 1s. 6d.

The Misled General, a Serio-Comic, Satiric, Mock-Heroic Romance. By the author of the Rising Sun. 7s. bound.

The Laundress's Check-Book, or Complete Family Washing-Book, for keeping a regular Account of Linen, &c. given out to Wash, Iron, or Mangle. 1s. 3d. sewed.

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, with a Plate. By Alexander Mollison. 4s.

Report of the Committee of the African Institution, read to the General Meeting on the 15th of July 1807; together with the Rules and Regulations which were then adopted for the Government of the Society.

A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, on the Danger of interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Natives of India, and on the Views of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as directed to India. 1s. 6d.

Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Part I. 2s. To be completed in Eight Parts, with Plates.

MILITARY.

An Account of the Siege, Bombardment, and Capitulation of Copenhagen. By F. L. Sommer. To which is affixed, a Danish Admonition upon the Author's Narrative, and a List of the Danish Ships. 1s.

A Narrative of the Expedition to, and storming of Buenos Ayres, by the British Army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Whitelocke. By an Officer. 1s. 6d.

An Authentic Narrative of the Proceedings of the Expedition under the Command of Brigadier-General Crawford, until its Arrival at Monte Video, with an Account of the Operations against Buenos Ayres, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Whitelocke. 8vo. 10s. bound.

Proceedings of a Court-Martial on H. Button, Private in the Gosport Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Major T. Whitcomb, on Charges of Desertion, Intoxication, &c. 6d.

NOVELS.

Memoirs of Female Philosophers. 2 vol. 10s.

The Sorrows of Gustavus; or the History of a Young Swede. By the Baroness Crudner. 2 vol. 10s.

Romance of the Appenines. 2 vol. 9s.

Davenport Family. 4 vol. 20s.

The Nun of the Misericordia, or the Eve of All-Saints, a Romance. 4 vol. 18s. sewed.

Philip Stanley. By B. C. Brown. 2 vol. 7s. sewed.

A Peep at our Ancestors. By Henrietta Rouviere. 4 vol. 20s. sewed.

Mountville Castle. 3 vol. 15s. boards.

The Fatal Vow; or, S. Michael's Monastery, a Romance. By F. Lathom. 2 vol. 9s. bound.

Leopold de Circe; or, the Effects of Atheism. By J. S. Byerley, Esq. 2 vol. 12mo. 8s. bound.

The Governor of Belleville, a Tale. By Jane Harvey. 4 vol. 12mo. 14s. bound.

Bath Characters; or, Sketches from Life. By Peter Paul Pallett. 5s. bound.

Estella, a Pastoral Romance, translated from the celebrated Work of M. de Florian. 3s. 6d.

St Hilary, the Crusader, a Romantic Legend. 3 vol. 13s. 6d.

Dorinda Grafton. By T. P. Hurstone. 3 vol. 15s.

Palmerin of England. By Francis De Moreas, translated by Robert Southey, from the original Portuguese. 4 vol. foolscap 8vo. 28s. bound.

Dorinda Grafton, a Novel, in 3 vol. 15s.

The Royal Legend, a Tale of the 14th Century, in 1 vol. 12mo. 5s. bound.

Maid of Avon, a Novel for the Haut-Ton, by an Irishwoman. 3 vol. 13s. 6d.

A Winter in Dublin. By Charles Sedley. 3 vol. 21s. bound.

Montoni, or the Confessions of the Monk of St Benedict. 4 vol. 18s.

Modern Characters. 3 vol. 18s.

Christiana; or, Memoirs of a German Princess. 2 vol. 9s.

The Duke of Lauzun, an Historical Romance, replete with Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XIV. By Madame de Genlis.

The Imaginary Adulteress. 2 vol. 8s.

A Summer at Weymouth; or, the Star of Fashion. 3 vol. 15s.

Ludovico's Tale; or, the Black Banner of Castle Douglas. By A. A. Stewart. 4 vol. 20s.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Zoological Anecdotes; or, Authentic and Interesting Facts, relative to the Lives, Manners, and Economy of the Brute Creation, both in their Natural and Domesticated State.

Ornithologia Curiosa, or the Wonders of the Feathered Creation. By J. Taylor. 2s. 6d.

The Naturalist's Cabinet, containing interesting Sketches of Animal History. 6 vol. 8vo. 54s. bound. With coloured Plates, 3*l.* 18s.

British Ferinaria, containing a Compendium of the Zoology of the British Islands, arranged according to the Linnean System. By W. Turton. Vol. I. 10s. 6d.

POETRY.

Poems by the Rev. George Crabbe. 8vo. 8s. 6d. boards.

Patriotic Sketches of Ireland, written in Connaught, by Miss Owenson. 2 vol. 9s. boards.

The English Musical Repository, containing a choice Selection of Songs adapted for the Voice, Violin and German Flute. 3s. 6d. boards.

Travelling Recreations, comprising a variety of Original Poems, &c. By William Parsons. 21s. boards.

Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads, chiefly Ancient, with explanatory Notes, and a Glossary; to which are prefixed some remarks on the early state of Romantic composition in Scotland. By John Finlay, in 2 vol. 14s. boards.

Ancient Historic Ballads, foolscap 8vo. 5s. bound.

Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London; a Poem, by Gay; embellished with an highly-finished characteristic Engraving. To which is added, London: a Poem, by Dr Johnson. 5s. foolscap 8vo.

Metrical Legends, and other Poems. By Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esq. 8vo. 5s. bound.

The Resurrection, a Poem. By John Stewart, Esq. Foolscap 8vo. 7s. bound.

Descriptive Poetry, being a selection from modern Authors, chiefly having reference to Natural History. 3s. boards. 12mo.

POLITICS.

Reflections on the Peace between Russia and France, concluded at Tilsit, July 8. 1807. 1s.

Address to the People, on the Maritime Rights of Great Britain. 6d.

An Accurate Copy of the Petition finally agreed to at a General Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, February 24. 1807, and intended to be presented to Parliament, with a Preface. 1s.

Observations on Buonaparte's Speech to the Legislative Body, August 16. 1807. 1s.

Reflections on Mr Whitbread's Bill on the Poor Laws, and on different Authors who have written on that Subject; with an Outline of a further Plan for bettering the Condition of the Poor,

and for Improving the Morals of the People. By Daniel Carpenter Esq. 1s. 6d.

Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences, of the present War; and on the Expediency or the Danger of Peace with France. By William Roscoe Esq. 2s. 6d.

New Blockade Company! The Policy of the New Blockading System refuted, with Observations on the present Stage of the War. 2s. 6d.

A Letter to the Earl of D——, on the Political Relations of Russia, in regard to Turkey, Greece, and France; and on the Means of preventing the French establishing a permanent Controul over Russia; with Strictures on Mr Thornton's Present State of Turkey. By W. Eaton Esq. 3s.

Remarks on the Alliance between Church and State, and on the Test Laws. By the Rev. Richard King. 2s.

Remarks on the Injustice and Impolicy of our late Attack upon Denmark. 2s. 6d.

Cursory Remarks on the Propriety and Safety of Negociating Peace with France. By a Freeholder of the County of Fife. 1s.

A Refutation of the Charge brought against the Marquis Wellesley, on Account of his Conduct to the Nabob of Oude, from authentic Documents. By J. Bland. 3s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

The Substance of a Sermon preached at Fulham Church, on Sunday September 13. 1807, on occasion of the late awful fire in the premises of John Ord Esq., by which his principal gardener was burnt to death. By the Rev. John Owen. 1s.

An Exposition of the Historical Writings of the New Testament, with Reflections subjoined to each Section. By the late Rev. Timothy Kenrick. 3 vol. 8vo. 42s. boards.

A Manual of Piety, adapted to the Wants, and calculated for the Improvement of all Sects of Christians. By Robert Fellowes. 8vo. 7s. boards.

Sermons on Various Subjects. By William Craig, D. D. late Minister of St Andrews Church, Glasgow, a New Edition, with several Additional Sermons, and a Life of the Author. 2 vol. 8vo. 15s. boards.

A Sermon, preached at the Consecration of the Chapel of Salisbury, September 8. 1807. By Thomas Dunham Whitaker. 3s. 6d.

The Christian Remembrancer; or, Short Reflections upon the Faith, Hope, and Conduct of a Real Christian. 3s. 6d. Fine 6s.

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Stroud, Gloucestershire, August 23; containing some Observations on the much

lamented Death of Lieutenant J. F. Delmont, late of the 89d Regiment of Foot, who fell a victim to the baneful Influence of Duelling. By the Rev. J. Williams. 1s.

Religious Courtship; or Historical Discourses on the Necessity of Marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only; as also of Husbands and Wives being of the same Opinions in Religion as one another, with an Appendix. 18mo. 4s. 6d. boards.

A Discourse on the Use of Persecution in the Furtherance of the Gospel, intended to have been preached August 24. 1807, at the Desire of the Committee for Establishing a General Union of the Independent Churches. By S. Palmer. 1s.

A Sermon, preached at Devizes, on Sunday August 16, 1807, on the Cruelty to Dumb Creatures; a Sinful Abuse of that Power originally delegated to Man, and inconsistent with the Christian Character. By the Curate of Devizes. 1s.

A Charge delivered previously to an Ordination, by George Isaac Huntingford, Bishop of Gloucester. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Discourses, Moral and Religious, adapted to a Naval Audience, and dedicated by permission to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by the Rev. Robert Baynes. 8vo. 12s. bound.

A Sermon, preached in Lambeth Chapel on the 4th of October, 1807, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend John Luxmore, Bishop of Bristol. By John Roberts. 1s. 6d.

A Letter to G. Sharp, respecting his Remarks on the two last Petitions in the Lord's Prayer, from a Country Clergymen. 1s.

Scriptural, and New Mode of Attack, wherein Infant Church Membership, and Infant Baptism, are stigmatized and renounced. By J. Harm. 1s.

A Sermon, preached in the Old Meeting, Kidderminster, September 27, on the Nature, Evil, and Cure of Selfishness. By S. Bradley. 1s.

The Anniversary Sermon of the Royal Humane Society, preached on the 13th of April, at St Ann's Church, Soho. By the Rev. Richard Yates. 1s. 6d.

Remarks on a recent Hypothesis, respecting the Origin of Moral Evil; in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr Williams. By W. Bennet. 2s. 6d.

Sermons on Various Subjects and Occasions. By the Rev. John Nance. 8vo. 6s. boards.

A Sermon, preached in Lambeth Chapel, on the 4th of October 1807, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend John Luxmore, D. D. Bishop of Bristol.

The Incarnation of the Son of God. By the Rev. J. Meldrum. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s.

Popery Irreconcileable. 1s.

Address to Protestant Dissenters, recommending Sitting to Sing. 6d.

A Collection of Moral and Religious Anecdotes, on a Pack of Conversation-Cards. 1s. 6d.

The Voice of Truth, or Proofs of the Divine Origin of Scripture. By Anne Fry. 2s.

A Collection of Evidences for the Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. A. Preston. 2s. 6d.

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St John, Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, August 30, for the General Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate. By the Rev. James Plumtree. 1s.

Thoughts on a General and Explicit Union of the Congregational Churches, occasioned by an Address from the London Committee, to the Ministers and Churches of the Congregational Order; in a Letter to the Gentlemen of that Committee. By a Friend to the Union. Price 1s.

Perfect Union with the Established Church of England, recommended in a Sermon preached before the Archdeacon of Wilts, in the Parish Church of St Peter's, Marlborough, August 11, 1807. By Charles Francis. 1s.

A Sermon, preached in the Parish Church of St George, Hanover Square, on its being reopened for Divine Service, on Sunday November 22, 1807. By the Rev. Robert Hodgson. 1s. 6d.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A complete Pocket Gazetteer of England and Wales. 7s. 6d.

An Historical and Descriptive Account of Lancaster. 5s.

TRAVELS.

Struggles through Life, exemplified in the various Travels and Adventures in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, of Lieutenant John Harriott. 2 vol. 12mo. 14s. bound.

Observations on the Windward Coast of Africa, the Religion, Character, Customs, &c. of the Natives; with a System upon which they may be civilized, and a Knowledge attained of the Interior of this extraordinary part of the Globe; and upon the Natural and Commercial Resources of the Country. By J. Corry. 18s. Coloured 24s.

The Adventures of Robert Drury during fifteen years captivity on the Island of Madagascar, containing a Description of that Island, &c. Written by himself, and now carefully corrected from the Original Copy. 8vo. 8s.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A

Achæan republic, rise of, 48.

Alembert, D', improvement in the integral calculus made by, 251.

Alexander the Great, rapidity and extent of his conquests, 41. Different views of his character, 42—what the probable event had he turned his arms against the Romans, 43—struggles among the successors of, 47.

Annus magnus, what, 272.

Antiochus, strange coincidence in the manner of the death of three kings of Macedon of that name according to Dr Gillies, 51.

Assyria, great obscurity of the history of, 44.

Astronomy, the most sublime and perfect of the physical sciences, 250.

B

Bamfylde, J. sonnet of, 39.

Bees. See *Huber*.

Blackstone, Sir William, verses by, 37.

Bonner, the bee-master, disadvantages under which his experiments were made, 339.

Bosanquet, Mr, account of his tracts on West India affairs, 148.

Bowles's edition of Pope, 399—remarks on the irregularity with which fortune distributes reputation among literary men, ib.—account of the 'Unfortunate Lady,' 401—passion of Mr Pope for the Misses Blount, ib.—strictures on Mr Bowles's notes, 403—observations on the poetical character of Pope, 407—cause of the perpetual tendency of the present age to depreciate him, 409—very intimate acquaintance with the appearances of external nature not essential to a poet, 410.

Britain, higher geometry less cultivated in, than on the Continent, 280.

Byron's, Lord, poems, 285—specimens of, 286.

C

Canterbury, school established by the archbishop of, 72.

Carnatic Question examined, 462—account of that country and its sovereigns, ib.—high rank, &c. of the nabob at the period of our early connexion with his family, 464—foundation of his downfal, 465—is accused of treasonable correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, ib.—truth of the charge examined, 467—irregularity of the proceedings against him, 471—evidence defective, 473—injustice and impolicy of the measures finally adopted, 480.

Catholic Queſtion, pamphlets on, 116—expediency and juſtice ſure to prevail in the end over prejudice and habit, ib.—queſtion examined on the principles of expediency, 117—view of the origin and preſent ſtate of the incapacities to which the Iriſh Catholics are ſubjected, 118—principal diſabilities to which they are liable, 121—advantages likely to be produced by their removal, ib.—how theſe diſqualifications operate in cauſing diſcontent among the people, 123—danger of not removing them illuſtrated from the caſe of the French revolution, 125—Lord Goſsford's account of the actual ſtate of the Catholics in Ireland, 127—other evils from which the Iriſh peaſantry have long ſuffered, independent of the laws relating to popery, 129—caſe of Scotland a remarkable inſtance of the efficacy of toleration in allaying the ſpirit of diſcontent and inſurrection among a people, 130—high importance of conciliating the Iriſh Catholics in the preſent criſis, 132—origin, &c. of the preſent oppoſition to emancipation, 137—diſadvantages that would attend it according to its opponents, examined, 138.

Cauſes, final, doctrine of, admits of a beautiful extenſion from the inveſtigations of La Place, &c. 279.

Chineſe, deſcription of the court ceremonies of, 311—their government ſhown not to deſerve all the encomiums that have been beſtowed on it, 316—uſeful arts diſcouraged among, 318.

Cluſius, Charles, account of, 86.

Cottin's, Madame, Eliſabeth, ou les Exilés de Sibérie, 449—remarks on the character of the heroine, 449—ſketch of Siberian ſcenery and of the occupations of the exiles, 450—inquiry into the cauſes of the ſuperior ſuſceptibility of the female mind, 452—outlines of the ſtory, 455—on the moral effect of, 460.

Cumberland, deſcription of the lakes in, 382.

D

Davy's Bakerian Lecture, 390—experiments inſtituted to aſcertain the ſources of the acid and alkali produced when diſtilled water is ſubmitted to the action of the galvanic fluid, 391—on the influence of electricity in various proceſſes of elective attraction, 394—galvaniſm which operates in the pile of Volta identical with common electricity, 395—remarks on the general inquiries to which the preceding experiments lead, &c. 397.

E

Earth, Inquiry into the phyſical cauſes which determine the figure of, &c. 266.

Ecliptic, obliquity of, when firſt perfectly recognized, 262.

Egypt, extent, &c. of the Greek kingdom of, 60.

Equinoxes, preceſſion of, 271.

Espriella's, Don Manuel, Letters from England, evidently the work of an Engliſh book-maker, 370—general character of, 371—ſpecimen of anecdotes with which it is interſperſed, 373—view of London from the top of St Paul's, 375—military puniſhments, 376—plan for ſecuring the nation againſt invaſion, 377—Engliſh univerſities, 378—

picture of the condition of the lower orders in the large manufacturing towns, 380—deſcription of the lakes, 382—credulity of the Engliſh, 384—account of William Huntingdon, S. S., 385—effects of taxation on a certain claſs of the community, 388—picture of a fop, 389.

Euler, commonly reckoned the firſt who applied algebra to trigonometry, 250.

Europe, divided into five parts with reſpect to the plants which it produces, 85.

Examination of the late Orders in Council, 484—theſe orders ſhown to be contrary to the law of nations, 485—to the municipal laws of the realm, 488—and to ſound policy, 490.

F

Fountain, filtering, uſed at Paris, deſcribed, 202.

G

Generation, account of the principal theories of, 81.

Gillies's, Dr, Hiſtory of the World, 40—period of time treated by the author, 41—remarks on the conqueſts and character of Alexander, ib. —hiſtory of Aſſyria, 44—deſcription of Peſſinus, 45—ſtruggles among the generals of Alexander after his death, 47—riſe of the Achæan republic, 48—battle of Sellaſia, 49—death of Antiochus the Great, 51—Hieroglyphic characters of the Egyptians, 53—vaſtneſs of the imperial palace at Rome, 55—on the Macedonian armies, 57.

Gossford's, Lord, account of the ſtate of the Iriſh Catholics, 127.

Grange, La, addition to the integral calculus made by, 251.

Greeks, modern, character of, 97.

H

Hieroglyphics, Egyptian, remarks on, 53.

Hoyle's Exodus, 362—ſubject, &c. of the poem, 363—extracts from, 364—remarks on the narration, ſtyle, &c. 369.

Huber on bees, 319—different ſorts of theſe inſects conſtituting a hive, ib.—deſcription of an improved glaſs-hive invented by the author, 320—different opinions concerning the manner in which the queen-bee is impregnated, 321—at laſt aſcertained, 323—ſingular conſequences reſulting from retarding the impregnation of the queen beyond the twentieth or twenty-firſt day of her life, ib. —bees capable of converting the grubs of workers into queens in caſes of neceſſity, and proceſs deſcribed, 326—experiments confirming the diſcovery of M. Riems that ſome common working bees are capable of laying eggs, 328—in caſes of two rival queens being in a hive, one of them always put to death, 330—conſequences of the removal of the queen from a hive, 331—maſſacre of the drones, 333—periods at which the tranſformations occur in the different orders of bees, 333—account of the hatching of the queen-bee, 334—of the formation of ſwarms, 335—obſervations on the economical treatment of bees, 337.

Huntingdon, William, S. S. account of, 385.

I

Ingram, Mr, on Methodism, 341—examples, according to them, of the special interference of Providence, 343—specimens of the energy of their religious feelings, 345—shocking story of the effects of their doctrines, 347—religious hoy established between London and Margate, 351—specimen of the advertisements circulated in their singular publications, 352—activity of their exertions in the British army and navy, 353—their doctrines shown to lead to erroneous and dangerous notions of the present judgments of God, 355—their fanaticism and gloomy disposition, 356—do not dissent from the articles of the Church of England, but differ in the choice of the articles upon which they dilate, 357—consequences of their notions upon men of different temperaments, 358—all their doctrines calculated to gain influence among the poor and ignorant, ib.—reflections on the causes, &c. of the prevalence of fanaticism, 359—inquiry to what degree Methodism is likely to extend in this country, 360.

Inn, English, picture of, 372.

Inn, Portuguese, description of, 89—Spanish, 91.

Inquiry into the State of the Poor, 100—miseries of mankind owing at least as much to the ignorance as to the bad designs of legislators, 101—general character of the present work, ib.—population of a country, on what it depends, 102—difference between public and private benevolence, 105—plan proposed by the author for the improvement of the poor laws, 106—general view of the tendency of the many plans which have been adopted for ameliorating the condition of the poor, 109.

Jupiter, theory of the disturbances of the satellites of, 274.

L

Lakes in Cumberland, description of, 382.

Lancaster's, Mr, Plan of Education, &c. 61—account of the method of teaching employed by, 62—what may be considered as the chief improvements made by, 63—dull and distant motives hitherto presented to children, 66—advantages arising from education being diffused among the lower classes, 68.

London, view of, from the top of St Paul's, 375.

Lowe's, Mr, tract on West India affairs, character of, 153.

M

Macartney, Lord, Barrow's Life of, 289—birth and education of, 291—is sent as envoy to the Court of Petersburgh, ib.—marries, is appointed secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and made a knight of the Bath, governor of Grenada, &c. 294—taken prisoner by Count d'Estaing, and carried to France, 295—is appointed to the government of Madras, 296—integrity of, in his administration, 297—returns to England, 303—and is sent ambassador to the Emperor of China, 305—made governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 306—returns to England, ib. and dies, 307—character of the Russian nobility, 308—account of the court ceremonies

of the Chinese, 311—extortion of the Chinese administration, 316—cultivation of the useful arts discouraged among, 318.

Macedon, kingdom of, the least considerable in extent and opulence of all those into which the dominions of Alexander were divided, 60—obstinate resistance opposed to the Romans by, under many disadvantages, 61.

Mant's Poems, 167—Neglect of that style of poetry which delineates the beauties of the country, among the writers of the early part of the last century, 167—restored by Thomson, 168—author of the present work entitled to praise in that respect, 169—extracts, ib.

Manufacturing towns, wretched state of the lower classes in, 380.

Mayer, Christian, the first who applied algebra to trigonometry, 249.

Milo, an island in the Archipelago, interesting from its harbour and situation, 96.

Moon's acceleration, various hypotheses to account for, 260—solved by La Place, 261.

N

Neutral Question, pamphlets on, 1—great importance of the subject at present, ib—substance of Mr Randolph's speech in Congress, 2—no conclusion can be formed from the sentiments of Mr Randolph and his party, of the probable conduct of the United States on the present occasion, 3—importance of the carrying trade of America underrated by him, 4—opinions advanced by Mr Maryatt in his publication, 5—by Mr Medford, 6—right of the mother country to monopolize the trade of her colonies, denied by, 7—comparative statement of the consequences of a war between England and America, to the interests of both countries, ib.—investigation of the claim of England to search foreign vessels for deserters, 9—that claim defensible with regard to merchant ships, but if extended to vessels of the state would prove the cause of constant hostility, 10—whether the presence of a ship of war ought to protect a convoy from search, 11—inviolability of the territories of a state applies equally to her ships of war, 13—shown from Grotius, 14—a consequence of peculiar absurdity arising from admitting the right of nations to search each other's ships, 15—doctrine that the sea may be appropriated by a people, examined, 16—how far that right, as claimed by Britain, has been acknowledged by other nations, 17—only instances in which the right of searching ships of war has been entertained, 19—right of searching merchantmen admitted by the Dutch, but denied with regard to ships of the state, 20—importance of the right of search overvalued, 21—claim to search merchantmen for deserters, shown to be valid, 22—though attended with some difficulties, 23—the permitting of our seamen to enter into the American service, perhaps upon the whole an advantage to this country, 24—suspicion entertained that the affair of search is only the ostensible reason for desiring a rupture with America at present, 23—inquiry whe-

XUM

ther the destruction of all neutrality would be of advantage to this country, 27.

O

Obelisk, Egyptian, placed in front of St Peter's at Rome, 189.

Observations on the means of increasing the regular army, 171—fickleness of our ministry in their military plans, ib.—only ways in which the army of a state can be recruited, 172—causes which prevent the recruiting of the army by voluntary enlistment, ib.—army of reserve, a most iniquitous and oppressive measure, 174—only rational plan that has hitherto been proposed for the recruiting of the army, 178—dependence, in case of invasion, only to be placed on the exertions of the regular army, 181.

Otway, Ode of, 33.

P

Paisley, process of purifying the water of a small river at, described, 202.

Palace, Imperial, at Rome, vastness of, 55.

Pessinus, account of the city of, 45.

Peter the Great, character of, 308.

Phalanx, Macedonian, description of, 56.

Philopœmen, by a well-timed manœuvre, decides the victory at Sellasia in favour of the Achæans, 50.

Place La, Traité de Mechanique Céleste, 249—astronomy the most sublime and perfect of the physical sciences, ib.—view of the principal improvements made in the integral calculus, 250—general character of the present work, 254—division of the subject, 255—problem of Three Bodies, 256—steps by which mathematicians have been gradually conducted to the solution of, 257—various hypotheses to account for the moon's acceleration, 260—solved by La Place, 261—inequalities of the primary planets, 262—explained by him, 264—conclusion relating to the stability of the planetary system, 265—inquiry into the cause which determine the figure of the earth, and of the other planets, 266—flux and reflux of the sea explained, 268—equilibrium of the sea shown to be stable, 271—precession of the equinoxes; cause of, first discovered by Newton, 272—afterwards more fully explained by D'Alembert, &c. ib.—further remarks on the disturbances of the planets, and on the lunar theory, 273—disturbances produced by the action of the secondary planets on one another, 274—of astronomical refraction, 275—general eulogium of the present work, 277—conclusion from this view of the planetary system of a wise design in its construction, 278—which leads to a beautiful extension of the doctrine of final causes, omitted to be taken notice of by La Place, 279—reflections on the small number of eminent mathematicians which Britain has produced of late, 285—cause of that deficiency to be sought for chiefly in the public institutions of the country, 283.

Planets, primary, account of the theory of the disturbing forces of, 262.
Poetical extracts from Southey's Specimens of English Poetry, 38—from Mant's poems, 169—from Wordsworth, 218—Lord Byron, 286—Hoyle's Exodus, 364.
Pompeii, remarks on the city of, 189.
Pope. See *Bowles*.
Prado, at Madrid, description of, 90.
Punishments, military, extreme severity of, in this country, 376.

Q

Quackery, why so prevalent in England, 384.
Quakers, character of, 387.
Quarterly List of New Publications, 232, 498.

R

Refraction, astronomical, 275.
Rosetta stone, remarks on the characters upon, 53.
Russian nobility, character of, 308.

S

Sallust. See *Steuart*.
Sea, causes of the flux and reflux of, 268—stability of equilibrium of, proved, 271.
Scotland, efficacy of religious toleration in allaying discontent and insurrection, exemplified in the history of, 130.
Sellasia, account of the battle of, 49.
Semple's, Mr, Travels in Spain, general character of, 88—description of a Portuguese inn, 89—of the Padro at Madrid, 90—of a Spanish inn, 91—effects of the battle of Trafalgar at Cadiz, 93—amusements of the Turks, 96—their character, 97; and that of the modern Greeks, 99.
Sinclair's, Sir John, Code of Health and Longevity, general character of, 195—plan of the work, 196—circumstances independent of individual intention by which health is likely to be influenced, 197—original theory of the author's, ib.—effects of climate, situation, &c. 198—education, &c. of children, 199—qualities of air, 200—different sorts of fluids used as drink, 201—description of a method of filtering water at Paisley, 202—remarks on tea, 203—wine, 204—ale, 205—solid food, 206—cookery, 207—direction for meals, 208—exercises, 209—account of the process of *training* for boxing, &c. 210—of sleep, 211—patience and industry of the author entirely misapplied, 213.
Snow-water, swellings in the neck occasioned by the use of, 202.
Southey's Specimens of English Poetry, 31—object of the compilation, 32—ode of Otway, 33—verses by Sir William Blackstone, 37—sonnet of J. Bamfylde, 39.
Spence on Commerce, 430—strictures on the arguments of the unproductiveness of manufactures, 430—on the assertion, that no addition can be made to national wealth by the accumulation of profits in the hands of the home trader, 432—arguments by which

the author controverts the notion of wealth being derived from a commerce of import, 436—concessions he makes in favour of that of export, 437—the reverse of his propositions shown to be more probable, 438—from a supposed case illustrative of the question, 439—on the wealth derived from colonies, 441—foreign commerce, though not to be depreciated, far inferior in importance to the internal trade of a country, 446.

Staël, Madame de, Corinne, 183—outline of the story of, ib.—reflexions on the castle of St Angelo, 188, and on St Peter's, 189—remarks on Pompeii, ib.—effects on the mind of the sight of the ruins and antique monuments of Rome, 191—effusion of Corinna, supposed sitting on the promontory of Misenum in a moonlight evening, 192—some of the writings of the authoress are vindicated from the charge of having an immoral tendency, 194.

Steuart's, Dr, Translation of Sallust, 413—why versions of the ancient prose authors are in this country less attended to than those of the poets, ib.—account of Thucydides, 415—mistakes the translator has committed, 416—remarks on his criticisms on Livy, 423—passage in Herodotus misunderstood by, 425—description of Sallust's gardens, 427.

Syria, account of the Greek kingdom of, 58.

T

Three Bodies, problem of, 257.

Thucydides, account of, 415.

Tides, theory of, 268.

Trafalgar, effects of, exhibited at Cadiz, 93.

Turks, amusements and character of the, 96 & 97.

U

Universities, English observations on, 378.

V

Vanhorn, Mr, a noted toper, quantity of wine consumed by, 205.

Vegetables, chemical principles of, 77.

W

Warburton, vindicated from a misrepresentation of Dr Gillies, 53.

West India affairs, pamphlets on, 145—Sir William Young's, ib.—Mr Bosanquet's, 148—Mr Lowe's, 150—general statement of the West India merchants examined, 151—what the true cause of their distresses, 156—only remedy for the evil, 163.

END OF VOLUME ELEVENTH.

D. Willison, printer, Edinburgh.